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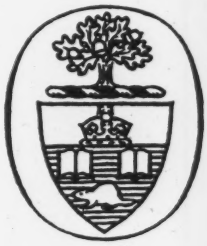

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"THE MIND'S INTERNAL HEAVEN" IN POETRY

WILLIAM O. RAYMOND

Whate'er the senses take or may refuse
The mind's internal heaven shall shed her dews
Of inspiration on the humblest lay.

THESE lines of a well-known sonnet of Wordsworth, close to the heart of his own poetic credo, raise the question of the relationship between the sensuous and the imaginative elements involved in the complex structure of art.

De gustibus non est disputandum is a maxim to be borne in mind by any writer who makes even a tentative sally into the debatable realm of aesthetic theory. If he escape the censure of the artist in his attempt to define the elusive quality of beauty, the metaphysician and the psychologist may soon challenge and engage him.

Part of the difficulty of any theory of beauty arises from the fact that it tries to analyse an experience which is largely intuitive and synthetic. Consequently, the theorist, more particularly the psychologist, too often treads near the perilous brink described by Wordsworth:

Our meddling intellect
Mis-shapes the beauteous forms of things:—
We murder to dissect.

On the other hand the artist, richly gifted with the intuitive and imaginative power to create or reveal beauty, may be largely unable to analyse or define the process. It is a paradox of aesthetic history that some of the most searching ideas of the nature and function of the beautiful have been set forth by men prosaically minded. No eulogist, in the wildest flight of fancy, could invest Immanuel Kant with poetic temperament. Yet the *Critique of Judgement* will always remain a landmark in the development of aesthetic theory. Contrariwise, a poet with such native sensibility to beauty as Burns has contributed little to a rational understanding of its peculiar essence. Once, and once only, in the history of Europe, has there been a man royally endowed with both poetic and philosophic gifts of the highest order. But Plato, as fearing the envy of the gods, shrank from the twofold sovereignty, and cast the golden ring of his artistic imagination into the sea of metaphysics. Yet, because he was eminently a poet at heart, the gleam of that ring in the *Symposium* and *Phaedrus* has been

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more potent in man's creative dream of beauty than a dozen systems of *Kunstwissenschaft*.

Of the two natural roads which from a reflective standpoint lead to a definition of beauty, psychology rather than metaphysics has been a favourite highway in our time. This is in keeping with the swing of emphasis in contemporary thought from an objective to a subjective conception of beauty. Since the development of the theory of ***Einfühlung*** in the *Aesthetik* of Theodor Lipps, Germany has teemed with books devoted to the psychology of art. In England, Henry Marshall in his work entitled *The Beautiful* states his conviction that the psychological method of approach rather than the metaphysical "has thus far yielded, and is likely in the future to yield, the more fruitful results." There is much stress on the analysis of mental reactions in Ivor Richards' *Practical Criticism* and *Principles of Literary Criticism*. He explains the technical terminology of the latter work as due to "the desire to link even the commonplaces of criticism to a systematic exposition of psychology." Even where, as in the *Estetica* of Croce and in Santayana's *The Sense of Beauty,* a metaphysics is presupposed, the tendency to interpret man's experience of the beautiful in terms of modern psychology is unmistakable.

Yet the very popularity of psychology as applied to aesthetics involves the danger of its becoming an Idol of the Tribe. All roads lead to Rome, and though metaphysics and psychology have claimed in turn to be the king's highway leading to the understanding of the concept of beauty, there are other important avenues of insight. At times, moreover, there may be a positive advantage in forsaking the beaten path. In his preface to *Studies in the History of the Renaissance,* Pater remarks that the value of aesthetic philosophy "has most often been in the suggestive and penetrating things said by the way."

While the aesthetic activity of artistic creation has been dealt with *ad libitum* by psychology, we need a fresher and more truly individualistic study of its objective record as enshrined in great works of art. Although many fine pieces of criticism, such as Wordsworth's preface to *Lyrical Ballads* and Shelley's *Defence of Poetry,* have been written by poets, we do not invariably go to them for a reasoned explanation of the process by which beauty has been brought to birth. Yet the insights and intuitions of the artist are the indispensable materials on which aesthetic theory must be built. It is, after all, poet, painter, musician, and sculptor, men whose minds are most sensitive and finely attuned to the influences of beauty, who have most to reveal regarding it.

My purpose, however, is not to break a lance in the lists of controversy concerning the nature of beauty, but rather to write on some attitudes of poets towards the senses, including the associations and values linked with them. Certain poets have concentrated on the representation of the joys of the senses, others have transcended these. I must touch only incidentally upon the aesthetic question of the place and function of the senses in poetry. Yet an initial reference to this is necessary, since a poet's reactions will in part be determined by the nature of art. Poetry, wrote Milton, must be "simple, sensuous, and passionate"; and the elemental place of the senses in it is universally recognized. Art in its essence is an incarnation, a synthesis of the spirit or imagination and the senses. Our use of the word taste in connection with our appreciation of art, as contrasted with judgment in logic or science, is a reminder of its indispensable linking with sense perception. The senses are the gate through which we enter the garden of beauty. The painter must embody his creative imagination in colour, the sculptor in marble or bronze, the architect in wood or stone, the musician in tone, the poet in verbal and rhythmical melody and in picture imagery—media we can see, touch, and hear. As Santayana has said: "sensuous beauty is not the greatest or most important element of effect, but it is the most primitive and fundamental, and the most universal."

The intrinsic nature of art demands therefore that poets have a livelier susceptibility than other men to impressions that come through the gateways of the senses. These primal elements of beauty must strike a responsive chord in their own beings. Yet this susceptibility is not a constant, but is conditioned by many factors. It may vary from age to age. The other-worldly and ascetic spirit of the Middle Ages was not conducive to the untrammelled portrayal and expression of sensuous loveliness in poetry. On the other hand, the humanistic spirit of the Renaissance fostered such a revelation. It may also vary from poet to poet. The poetry of Keats, with his full-blooded love of the senses, will naturally be richer in its impressions of colour, taste, touch, and sound than the verse of a reflective and philosophic poet like Arnold. And in the varying stages of an individual poet's writing, it is almost inevitable that the sensuous element will be more pronounced in his youth, and the imaginative or spiritual in his mature or later years. The distinction may be illustrated by contrasting Shakespeare's *Venus and Adonis* and *A Midsummer Night's Dream* with *Hamlet* and *The Tempest,* or Milton's *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso*

with *Paradise Regained* and *Samson Agonistes*. The contrast is relative rather than absolute and must not be overstressed. When Shakespeare chose to exercise it, the magic of sense was still at his command in his later plays, as in the description of Cleopatra's barge. In Milton's poetry there was more sense atrophy as the years advance, yet the account of the banquet set before Christ in the wilderness is steeped in sensuous charm. It is, however, in harmony with the natural shift of emphasis from the senses to the spirit when youth has departed that the prime appeal of these great poets in their mature and later works should be to the higher imagination and the informing spirit of poetry.

But here we must make an important distinction. The attitude of a poet towards the senses is not precisely identical with his native sensuous endowment or even with the manifestation of this in his verse. For example, it is plain that Gerard Manley Hopkins had a nature almost as susceptible to the impressions of the senses as that of Keats; and this is revealed in the texture of his poetry. Yet Hopkins can and frequently does adopt an ascetic attitude towards the senses, as in *The Habit of Perfection, Heaven-Haven,* and *The Leaden Echo.* Keats, though in many respects the most sensuous of English poets, finely transcends the kingdom of the senses in his great odes. A. E. Housman, whose sensuous resource, though considerable, cannot be compared to that of Keats, never transcends the senses, but regards them as the essential, even if ephemeral goods of our fleeting lives. It is a paradox of hedonism that its exponents in art have not always been, like Byron and Wilde, men who were steeped in the pleasures of sensation. Housman and Pater were almost recluses and anchorites in their private lives; and their refined epicureanism, at the opposite pole from the gusto of Boccaccio or the robustness of Rabelais, does not always escape the chill of their personal austerity.

Since sensation is the wellspring of beauty, the initial attitude of poets does not transcend the senses, but dwells on them and their manifold associations as values in themselves. A universal theme of poetry has been the joys of sensation, perceptions kindled by a response to nature or humanity. There is an inevitable association with youth as the time of life when the bodily powers are at their height and the senses at their best and keenest. The lines in which Wordsworth recalls his impressions of nature at the age of twenty-three are typical of the raptures of sensation in youth:

> . . . I cannot paint
> What then I was. The sounding cataract
> Haunted me like a passion: the tall rock,
> The mountain, and the deep and gloomy wood,
> Their colours and their forms, were then to me
> An appetite; a feeling and a love,
> That had no need of a remoter charm,
> By thought supplied, nor any interest
> Unborrowed from the eye.

Youth itself, its strength and beauty, with all the attendant delights of sense, has been the theme of poets in all ages. Byron's lines may be said to epitomize a strain that has never ceased to vibrate in English poetry.

> O talk not to me of a name great in story;
> The days of our youth are the days of our glory;
> And the myrtle and ivy of sweet two-and-twenty
> Are worth all your laurels, though ever so plenty.

Yet, while this strain is pervasive, a distinction may be drawn between poets in whom it by no means exhausts the burden of their verse and poets who regard the pleasures of the senses as an ultimate value. Shakespeare's sonnets are full of the beauty and poignancy of youthful sensation, but in *Hamlet, Macbeth, King Lear,* how far he transcends sensuous perception alone!

Although the hedonists of English poetry never excel, if indeed they ever equal, Spenser, Shakespeare, and Keats in richness of sense endowment and in the power to depict the loveliness of the world of sensation in verse, it is to them we turn for poetry so concentrated on the senses and the ideas and emotions linked with them as to proclaim them supreme values. Their outlook tends to be sheerly pagan. Dazzled by the flash and movement, the wheel and whirl of sensation, "with shapes and colours rife," their eyes seem blind to higher values, and the glorification of the senses becomes both a gospel of art and a philosophy of life. Passages from the poetry of FitzGerald, Swinburne, and Housman illustrate such hedonism; and its philosophy has been given classical expression in Pater's conclusion to *Studies in the History of the Renaissance.*

Undiluted hedonism bears within the seeds of its own inadequacy and decay. The tragedy of sensationalism is that its values, however precious, are fleeting and transitory. The taint of mortality, like the cankerworm in the rose, lurks beneath the bloom and fragrance of

the fairest flowers of the senses. Nothing is more characteristic of hedonism than its presentation of lovely imagery with an undercurrent of haunting melancholy because of the transiency of the joys of sensation in nature and in youth. FitzGerald's lines are poignant:

> Yet Ah, that Spring should vanish with the Rose!
> That Youth's sweet-scented manuscript should close!
> The Nightingale that in the branches sang,
> Ah whence, and whither flown again, who knows!

In an exquisite lyric that re-echoes the refrain of Shakespeare's

> Golden lads and girls all must,
> As chimney-sweepers come to dust,

Housman sighs:

> With rue my heart is laden
> For golden friends I had,
> For many a rose-lipt maiden
> And many a lightfoot lad.
>
> By brooks too broad for leaping
> The lightfoot boys are laid;
> The rose-lipt girls are sleeping
> In fields where roses fade.

Swinburne's hedonism in his first series of *Poems and Ballads* is more unbridled than the restrained, fastidious hedonism of FitzGerald and Housman. In Swinburne's portrayal of the passions of sense something darker than the pathos of their transiency is revealed; as in a thorough-going hedonism, they fill the whole horizon of life and of art. Perversion then lurks in the background. Fiercer, wilder, abnormal pleasures can alone quicken the jaded pulse of the sensualist. Stronger doses of the drug are required to titillate nerves exhausted by indulgence, once the border-line between sensuousness and sensuality is ignored. The reactions become more violent. The disillusionment, world-weariness, and satiety of the libertine hedonist are powerfully described in the poetic symbolism of *The Garden of Proserpine*. Yet Swinburne's hedonism is not without its redeeming feature. A high-spirited poet, he refuses to adopt a defeatist attitude in the face of the mutability of the joys he cherishes. As torches shine more brightly in the gloom, beauty and love seem enhanced when set over against the dark background of the forces that constantly threaten them. Although the ecstasies of life are fleeting, yet this very fact adds to the worth of the moments in which we experience them. If beauty and

love were secure and stable they would lack all excitement. Life is the theatre of a tragic conflict, but it is "the sense of tears in mortal things" that creates the poignancy and richness of man's emotional experience, and that gives opportunity for heroism and nobility of soul. The mettle and energy of Swinburne's native temperament transfigure his sensationalist feeling, so that he escapes the continual shadow of despondency that haunts the verse of Housman, despite the anodyne in *A Shropshire Lad* of love of nature and of youthful strength and beauty. He also escapes the passivity of FitzGerald's philosophic pessimism, yet cannot finally evade the inexorable condemnation that finds hedonism wanting as an absolute value for man in life and art.

The antithesis of a hedonistic worship of the senses is an ascetic renunciation of them. *A priori* it might seem impossible for a poet to adopt this ascetic attitude. Not only are the senses the indispensable media of art, but a poet must be a man gifted above his fellows with a high degree of sensuous perception. Puritanism's condemnation of art has always been that it panders to the senses and is hostile to the precept of morality: "the flesh lusteth against the spirit, and the spirit against the flesh; and these are contrary the one to the other." Yet if art holds the mirror up to life there is nothing in human nature that cannot be reflected in it; and a poet may express some attribute of his personality or spiritual ideal that lies beyond or even conflicts with the sensuousness of his craft. It is not in the poetry of men low pulsed in sense perception, but rather in the verse of poets who have felt the tension of being pulled in two ways by the claims of the senses and the spirit, that an ascetic attitude frequently appears. This inner conflict is most marked in the writings of men who have experienced the difficulty of reconciling their artistic temperament with a devout religious spirit. George Herbert in the seventeenth century and Gerard Manley Hopkins in the nineteenth are outstanding examples. Both were men of ardent, passionate natures, poets in sensuous endowment. Yet both were swept into the currents of religious faith; and, embracing holy orders, felt impelled to consecrate all their powers to the service of Christ. At the time of their ordination vows they destroyed most of the secular poetry they had previously written. In Herbert's lyrics, *Virtue, The World, The Collar, The Pulley,* he has recorded vividly the stress and strain of his inner struggle. These poems illustrate an ascetic attitude towards the senses, even though their artistic texture reveals keen susceptibility to the loveliness of the world of sensuous perception renounced.

Hopkins' poetry still more tensely reveals inward strain. An impulsive, high-mettled poet by nature, he felt acutely the raptures of sensation. No reader of *A Vision of the Mermaids* can miss the opulence of its imagery, its dazzling pomp of colour, its luxuriant blending of light, fragrance, and voluptuous verbal music. Yet Hopkins' will and moral fibre were even more potent than his emotions. From his school-days he was resolved to master his senses and himself. The diaries and letters of his youth, and the snatches of his early poetry that have survived, disclose the severity of the struggle.

> How shall I search, who never sought?
> How turn my passion-pastured thought
> To gentle manna and simple bread?

As a biographer, John Pick, has commented: "Hopkins' undergraduate note-books are filled with notations of one keenly sensitive to natural beauty, of one anxious to translate into words his awareness of shape, texture, colour; on the other hand, his religious asceticism made him reject the senses. And the deficiencies of his undergraduate poetry, both secular and religious, may largely be told in terms of this conflict."

Even before his conversion to Roman Catholicism he wrote poems in which the ascetic strain is predominant. The theme of *Heaven-Haven* is withdrawal from the world:

> And I have asked to be
> Where no storms come,
> Where the green swell is in the havens dumb,
> And out of the swing of the sea.

In his exquisite lyric *The Habit of Perfection* the various senses—sound, sight, taste, smell, and touch—are in turn renounced, and, in conclusion, "Our Lady Poverty" is extolled as the symbol of a spiritual ideal.

Although the rigour of Hopkins' personal asceticism was intensified after he became a priest and a member of the Jesuit order, he found a way of reconciling his poetry and his religious vocation in the teachings of Duns Scotus and St. Ignatius. He came to realize how the senses could be consecrated to the service of Christ. In this connection he pushes the device of symbolism to its extreme limit, as when he makes the soaring and descent of the windhover represent the central mysteries of Christianity. A note of this reconciliation is that Hopkins' conception of sensuous beauty in his later poetry tends to

become more Platonic and less ascetic. *The Leaden Echo* and *The Golden Echo* hover between the two. Much of *The Leaden Echo* is ascetic. The decay and death of the pleasures of sense are stressed rather than their loveliness. But in *The Golden Echo,* while renunciation is still emphasized, there is more of the Platonic idea of an ascent, a sublimation of physical beauty when it is surrendered to God its giver.

The transition in *The Golden Echo* from asceticism to Platonism is an appropriate introduction for the third division of my theme, the attitude of poets who in various ways transcend the senses and their values. While sensuous perception is the groundwork of beauty, the soul of art resides in man's imaginative or spiritual nature. As Coleridge has written, beauty is "the subjection of matter to spirit so as to be transfigured into a symbol, in and through which the spirit reveals itself." This revelation of the spirit, through the transfiguration of the material universe, may be regarded from the point of view of its human import. Yet, as Plato and all great idealists have testified, beauty in its appeal to the spirit outranges humanism. Robert Bridges voices this in *The Testament of Beauty.*

> Beauty is the highest of all these occult influences,
> the quality of appearance that thru' the sense
> wakeneth spiritual emotion in the mind of man:
> And Art, as it createth new forms of beauty,
> awakeneth new ideas that advance the spirit
> in the life of Reason to the wisdom of God.

Art has many impulsions toward the transcendence of the senses. Two may be considered here: the first derivative since it stems from Plato, the second more original since it stems from the poets' immediate experience of beauty and the genius of their art.

The influence of Plato upon English poetry from Edmund Spenser to Robert Bridges has been incalculable. In *The Faerie Queene* Plato is refracted through the *Enneads* of the Alexandrine Plotinus, and the *Theologia Platonica* of the Italian Ficino. The *Symposium, Ion,* and *Phaedrus* are interpreted in the light of Christian and romantic ideals. Fundamentally, this neo-Platonic point of view presupposes a sacramental conception of beauty. Earthly loveliness revealed through the senses is "an outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace." It is a stepping-stone by which man ascends through the sphere of the finite to the contemplation of an absolute beauty discerned by the soul. The conjunction in the verse of Spenser of the

naïve and passionate sensuousness of the Renaissance with a thoroughgoing neo-Platonic idealism is one of the perennial charms and enticing paradoxes of that great poet.

Shelley's Platonism is different. In his *Hymn to Intellectual Beauty* he is even closer to Plato than Spenser, because the Greek philosopher's archetypal ideas are spiritual concepts with only the notion of a dim reminiscence to link them with the forms of the world of sense. Shelley impetuously strives to ascend into the realm of spiritual abstraction. His favourite themes are those in which the body of sense is thinned to its utmost limit—the cloud, the west wind, and the skylark, that "blithe Spirit." The mourners for Adonais are

> Splendours and Glooms, and glimmering Incarnations
> Of hopes and fears, and twilight Phantasies. . . .

Not soft voices, but music that "vibrates in the memory," not sweet violets, but odours that "live within the sense they quicken"; it is always the abstraction from the physical and material world that kindles the cloud-capped imagination of Shelley. Like his skylark, "scorner of the ground," he searches for a visionary beauty, "an ampler ether, a divine air," an ecstasy transcending anything found within the bonds of sense and form. The nerve of Shelley's poetry is

> The desire of the moth for the star,
> Of the night for the morrow,
> The devotion to something afar,
> From the sphere of our sorrow.

Spenser has too much of the Renaissance appreciation of "the value and significance of flesh" to etherealize the sensuous element in art in order to set free its spirit. The description of the physical beauty of Elizabeth Boyle in *Epithalamion* reveals a Rubens-like gusto and robustness, which Shelley would have regarded as incompatible with beauty of soul. Yet Spenser passes without any feeling of disharmony from the bodily charms to the moral loveliness of his bride:

> But if ye saw that which no eyes can see,
> The inward beauty of her liuely spright,
> Garnisht with heauenly guifts of high degree,
> Much more then would ye wonder at that sight.

As in Titian's *Sacred and Profane Love,* Spenser links beauty of sense with beauty of soul. It is indeed the rich sensuousness of *The Faerie Queene,* so full of colour, langorous music, and perfume, that makes Spenser pre-eminently "the poet's poet." As Plato phrases it in the

Phaedrus, "This is the privilege of beauty, that being the loveliest, she is also the most palpable to sight." Since the primary elements of art lie in the senses, beauty divorced from these loses its sacramental character and ceases to be "human at the red-ripe of the heart." Yet, as beauty is a spiritual activity revealing itself through form, the senses furnish but the raw materials of art, not its animating soul. However enamoured the Elizabethan poets were of the soft delights of sense, the inspiration of Plato saved them from a merely sensuous definition of beauty.

I have reserved for final consideration what seems the most significant and also the most human of the ways in which the senses have been transcended in English poetry. The ever deepening content of beauty when sense impressions are transmuted by the poets is an image of man's ascension from the physical life which he shares with the brute to the life of the spirit which is his distinctively human attribute. Art is like life in its concreteness and fulness. It cannot divest itself of the senses any more than man can do without his body. Nor does it normatively assume an ascetic attitude towards them. Yet as man finds his true glory in the subordination of his senses and bodily desires to mind and soul, so art, in its higher reaches, is at home in the realm of the imagination and the spirit. Sensations are but the raw materials of beauty, and in art as well as in life they do little to lift man above an animal level.

> What is he but a brute
> Whose flesh has soul to suit,
> Whose spirit works lest arms and legs want play?
> To man propose this test—
> Thy body at its best,
> How far can that project the soul on its lone way?

The tragedy of hedonism is that it concentrates on those primal elements of beauty associated with man's physical life. It has no place for that enrichment of the spirit in the complex structure of great works of art which is analogous to if not identical with the enrichment of the spirit in religion. Beauty like goodness is a hunger for perfection, but its aspiration must encounter defeat if its vision is fastened only on the fleeting and perishable perceptions of the senses and their joys. The gulf between finite and infinite is never bridged. Hence beneath the most rapturous strains in praise of the loveliness of nature or the strength and beauty of youth, there are minor chords of pathos and even futility.

> But pleasures are like poppies spread,
> You seize the flower, its bloom is shed;
> Or like the snow-fall in the river,
> A moment white, then melts forever.

On the other hand that alchemy of beauty which transmutes its primary elements into values surpassing sense is an evidence of the worth and dignity of man's spiritual nature comparable to the triumph of virtue in religion.

We may find illustrations of this way of sense transcendence, which is, as it were, a simulacrum of life in the realm of art, in the poetry of Wordsworth, Keats, and Yeats.

The initial inspiration of Wordsworth's poetry stems from his unique response to those impressions that stream from the loveliness of the natural world. These are recorded with a marked fidelity and delicacy. In his preface to the *Poems* (1815) he enumerates "the powers requisite for the production of poetry." The first is observation and description, and the second sensibility. These are linked with the representation of the impressions of sense. Yet sensuous perception is but a point of departure for his vision of beauty. He proceeds to mention deeper powers requisite for the production of poetry: reflection, imagination and fancy, invention. It is the function of these faculties to transmute the data supplied by the senses, and to spiritualize poetry. Higher minds are

> By sensible impressions not enthralled,
> But by their quickening impulse made more prompt
> To hold fit converse with the spiritual world.

The process is at once intuitive, contemplative, and impassioned—emotion recollected in tranquillity and then rekindled. Poetry and its object, truth, is conceived of as "not standing upon external testimony, but carried alive into the heart by passion."

In Wordsworth's poetry there is a double process of transition from sense to spirit. There is a penetration into the spiritual significance of the natural world as well as into the depths of the poet's own spirit. The transfiguration of the senses through the play upon them of memory, imagination, and reflection becomes a revelation of and a communion with the universal spirit that animates both man and nature. It is "a dialogue between the soul of man and the soul of external things." There is a pre-established harmony between them, or, as the poet expresses it in *The Prelude*:

A balance, an ennobling interchange
Of action from without and from within;
The excellence, pure function, and best power
Both of the object seen, and eye that sees.

The illustration of such a theme as "the mind's internal heaven" in poetry through reference to the works of Keats has elements of challenge and fascination—of challenge because, as the most sensuous of English poets, he would seem the most unlikely to transcend sense, of fascination because of the purely aesthetic nature of his poetry. If beauty in art involve in its essence a spiritual quality, and if sense-perception, although a primary element in it, be only the portal through which the artist enters into his inheritance, the poetry of Keats should attest this. In the poetry of Wordsworth there is always a danger of confusing extraneous motives or associated values with the aesthetic content. There is a deep-rooted conviction of the ethical import of beauty pervasive in nearly all his work. But Keats is entirely absorbed in his devotion to beauty. As he wrote: "I never can feel certain of any truth but from a clear perception of its beauty." His poetry is therefore closely allied to aesthetics in its purity. If he transcends the senses, the process will indicate the way in which beauty *per se* inevitably transcends them. It will reveal the synthesis in beauty of form and expression. Just as Kant, in order to deal with the crux of aesthetics, strove to concentrate on "pure" and simple examples of art, since these were not adulterated with moral or empirical conceptions, so a study of the poetry of Keats heightens our appreciation of the intrinsic nature and quality of beauty.

"O for a life of sensations rather than of thoughts!" wrote Keats; and the opulence of his representation of the impressions of sense has never been surpassed in English literature. Yet excessive sensuousness, not lightened or transfigured by the presence of the imaginative and spiritual elements of art, soon becomes luscious, cloying, and enervating, a body without a soul. This is the cardinal weakness of Keats' early verse. It is a measure of his greatness that, although his years were few, his conception of beauty and his portrayal of it deepened fast. His letters reveal his growth as a poet. He had from the first the faculty of self-criticism, and soon became conscious of the mawkish softness of much of his early poetry. He confesses to "a tendency to class women with roses and sweetmeats," and here lays his finger on the flaws in the verse of his youth. Even before the period of his

great odes, a higher ideal of beauty began to dominate his thoughts. *Endymion* represents the dream of a young poet in which Cynthia, the moon-goddess, is the object of his quest and devotion. He finds her in a lower form as a lovely Indian maid, a symbol of sensuous passion; yet she is only his deity veiled, the shaded half of the moon. But Cynthia in her full radiance is a loftier and spiritual vision. As Robert Bridges puts it: "The Moon represents 'Poetry' or the ideality of desired objects, the principle of Beauty in all things: it is the super-sensuous quality which makes all desired objects ideal: and Cynthia, as moon-goddess, crowns and personifies all this."

The growth in Keats' conception of beauty may be traced first in his representation of the senses. His poetry abounds in imagery drawn from the so-called lower aesthetic senses of taste, smell, and touch. These are so closely bound up with bodily perception that they are more difficult to objectify than sight and sound. In his early verse Keats does not successfully free them from their subjective and physical associations. Hence they remain more closely linked with pleasure than with beauty, and tend to become cloying and surfeiting. The first step in the realization of genuine beauty in art is taken when sense impressions are transmuted from mere bodily feelings. As Keats' poetry matures he achieves this refinement of the lower senses. By various devices he removes them from their immediate reference to bodily appetites, so that they become genuinely aesthetic as objects of contemplation rather than desire. The delicacies set forth by Porphyro in *The Eve of St. Agnes* are described with a wealth of imagery appealing to the sense of taste. But, just as this threatens to become over-luscious, the higher sense of sight is invoked; and the imaginative challenge of far-off places and their romantic association objectifies and spiritualizes the picture.

> Manna and dates in argosy transferr'd
> From Fez; and spiced dainties, every one
> From silken Samarcand to cedar'd Lebanon.

A still more striking example may be cited from the *Ode on Melancholy*. The imagery of the lines,

> Though seen of none save him whose strenuous tongue
> Can burst Joy's grape against his palate fine,

is a victory of the poetic imagination over the crassness of taste, only to be compared with the triumph of the epicurean art in sampling a wine of the choicest vintage.

There are, however, more significant ways in which Keats' deeper

vision of beauty is in evidence. It is in the contrast, central in the poet's consciousness in the years immediately preceding his death, between the ephemeral and fleeting joys linked with the senses and the eternity of beauty that we realize the full purport of his words: "I have loved the principle of beauty in all things." *Endymion* begins with the line, "A thing of beauty is a joy for ever." In *The Eve of St. Agnes,* a rapturous incident of youthful love is rescued from transiency by its setting in art. The chill and frost of the winter at the outset of the poem, the rain and storm at its close, are like the frame of a picture. Within is the captured loveliness of the fleeting moment made deathless by the alchemy of art. Angelica, the old nurse, dies "palsy-twitch'd," the ancient Beadsman sleeps "among his ashes cold," the lovers flee into the storm; but the love of Porphyro and Madeline, a pulse-beat of passion, will continue to throb on through centuries in the magic of Keats' poetry.

The *Ode to a Nightingale* is the most impassioned and most richly humanized of Keats' later poems. Here the contrast between the transitoriness of the delights of the senses and the imperishable nature of beauty is given fine expression, all the more poignant because of the personal struggle of the poet. After the death of his brother Tom, and in the shadow of his own fatal illness, he felt the imperative need of identifying his being with that principle of beauty in all things which he loved. "Leave me behind," cries sorrow, "escape for your life into joy." Beauty to Keats was a religion; and his devotion was rewarded by the highest gift art can bestow, the joy and deliverance of an escape from finitude by becoming one in spirit with an ideal of perfection. Only art and religion can give man that assurance. They alone bridge the chasm between the finite and the infinite, and enable us to see things *sub specie aeternitatis.* Religion effects this through the experience described in Dante's great line, "In his will is our peace"; but art too, by creating a harmony between the individual and "a thing of beauty" which "is a joy for ever," attunes man's life to the infinite, "all breathing human passion far above." In art and religion we not only touch, but mystically achieve perfection.

The *Ode to a Nightingale* is charged with emotional tension. It oscillates between a keen susceptibility to a world of pain and travail,

> The weariness, the fever, and the fret
> Here, where men sit, and hear each other groan,

and the escape from this "on the viewless wings of Poesy" to the realm of absolute beauty symbolized by the song of the nightingale.

The seventh stanza beginning "Thou wast not born for death, immortal Bird!" is an exquisite voicing of the imperishable nature of beauty. In his interpretation of this stanza it seems to me that Robert Bridges, although an acute and discerning critic, is wide of the mark when he asserts that "the thought" in it "is fanciful and superficial,—man being as immortal as the bird in every sense but that of sameness, which is assumed and does not satisfy." Keats, however, is not contrasting man as a species with the nightingale as a species. He is contrasting the transiency of his own *individual* life with the permanence of the principle of beauty in all things as symbolized by the continuance of the song of the nightingale from age to age and from clime to clime. Nor, since the nature of art involves the representation of spiritual ideas and values, not in the abstract concepts of philosophy, but in and through pictorial imagery and symbolism, is the thought of the poet in this stanza "fanciful or superficial." These noble lines are the climax of the central theme of the ode, the way in which Keats is rescued from the unhappy consciousness of his frail and flickering life by being transported into communion with undying beauty. The form of the nightingale is hidden in the darkness, and, as Sir Sidney Colvin comments, "what Keats has truly in mind is not the song-bird at all, but the bird-song, thought of as though it were a thing self-existing and apart, imperishable throughout the ages." His imagination conjures up a vision of the nightingale's song as heard not only on a brief summer's night in a Hampstead garden, but through aeons of time and in regions far apart, in ancient Rome, in the Bethlehem of Ruth, in the "faery lands forlorn" of oriental romance. Surely the imagery of the continuance of the song, related to this magnificent panorama embracing vast reaches of time and space, is no fanciful or superficial symbol of the undying nature of beauty as contrasted with the short span of life remaining for Keats. The thought here is as triumphant as the felicity of the imagery and the music.

The *Ode on a Grecian Urn* is an expression of aesthetic experience in its purity, based upon Keats' appreciation of the art of sculpture. The motif is the contrast between a fleeting joy of life and the permanence of beauty, when the moment of sensuous passion is removed from actuality and made an object of contemplation in art. The fleeing maidens and the pursuing youths, a flash of ecstasy, have been as it were arrested in mid-flight, and rescued from all change by the maker of the urn. This swiftly passing rapture of sensation, a mere bubble of life, has been caught up out of time, liberated

from the tyranny of the will and the fever of desire. "Oh moment, one and infinite!" Art transfigures the particular object by freeing it from the limitations of its material reality and making it an image of perfection. In life itself our past experience becomes artistic, when through the deeper powers of memory, imagination, and reflection we transmute sensuous perceptions into lasting possessions.

> Heard melodies are sweet, but those unheard
> Are sweeter; therefore ye soft pipes play on;
> Not to the sensual ear, but more endear'd
> Pipe to the spirit ditties of no tone.

As for Yeats, I must confine myself to a single poem, *Sailing to Byzantium,* as the last illustration of my theme. Its motif is a transcript of transcendence in life of which art is an image. The poem begins with a picture of a country symbolic of the raptures of the senses. As such it is the home land of youth with its bodily strength and beauty. The poet, writing as an elderly man, feels that from the point of view of his physical being he is now divorced from it.

> That is no country for old men. The Young
> In one another's arms, birds in the trees,
> —Those dying generations—at their song,
> The salmon-falls, the mackerel-crowded seas,
> Fish, flesh, or fowl, commend all summer long
> Whatever is begotten, born, and dies.
> Caught in that sensual music all neglect
> Monuments of unaging intellect.

The departure of youth is a keen blow to all men, especially to a poet who, although old, still retains keen susceptibility to sensuous loveliness.

In the second verse we have a striking transition in the thought of the poem. Yeats turns from the physical and sensuous aspects of life to its imaginative and spiritual activities, those that distinguish man from animals, and characterize his later rather than his earlier years.

> An aged man is but a paltry thing,
> A tattered rag upon a stick, unless
> Soul clap its hands and sing, and louder sing
> For every tatter in its mortal dress.

The transcendence of the senses is vividly illustrated by the rich symbolism of sailing to Byzantium. The art of Byzantium was not literally realistic. It did not strive to copy the body, but to use it as a symbol of some ideal or spiritual quality representative of the soul.

In his life on earth an aging man must experience the inevitable decline of his bodily powers. More and more he must realize the contrast between his infinite, ever aspiring soul, and the wasting finite form in which it is pent. So the poet longs for death as a freeing of the spirit.

> Consume my heart away; sick with desire
> And fastened to a dying animal
> It knows not what it is; and gather me
> Into the artifice of eternity.

When he reaches Byzantium, symbolic of an ideal of perfection, or absolute spiritual realization, he will be immune to change and decay, the mortality of the dying animal. He will be at one with the principle of beauty in all things.

> Once out of nature I shall never take
> My bodily form from any natural thing,
> But such a form as Grecian goldsmiths make
> Of hammered gold and gold enameling
> To keep a drowsy Emperor awake;
> Or sit upon a golden bough to sing
> To lords and ladies of Byzantium
> Of what is past, or passing, or to come.

Art is for life, not life for art; and in Yeats' eloquent lines the strands of art so mingle with the larger warp and woof of life that they express something elemental and universal—the sign-manual of great poetry. Not only in art but in life itself the senses are transcended in "the mind's internal heaven." In its highest reaches the ethical significance of art is in harmony with the still loftier import of the religious consciousness. They both lead by diverse roads to an ideal of perfection that is profoundly spiritual in its essence.

THE CENTRAL THEME OF *A MIDSUMMER NIGHT'S DREAM*

ERNEST SCHANZER

MOST readers of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* appear to be under the erroneous impression that the main events of the play take place on Midsummer Night.[1] For this misapprehension Shakespeare himself is at least partly responsible. He seems to have had a fondness for giving baffling or misleading titles to his plays. Why *Love's Labour's Lost,* we ask; why *As You Like It?* So it is with *A Midsummer Night's Dream.* I have never seen it remarked upon by a critic that the central incidents of the play actually take place on Walpurgisnight (the Eve of May-day), as is made clear by Theseus' remarks in Act IV, where he expresses his belief that the lovers have come to the wood early that morning to observe the rites of May-day (IV, 1, 135 ff.). Walpurgisnight is one of the two main nights of the year for witchcraft and every form of magic. The other is Midsummer Night (St. John's Eve). Both nights are therefore particularly well fitted to provide the time-setting for the supernatural events in the wood. Moreover, Midsummer Night is traditionally connected with flower magic; certain herbs and flowers gathered during that night were supposed to possess various wonder-working powers. This may well account for Shakespeare's use of Dian's bud and Cupid's flower instead of some other magical agent. Why, then, did Shakespeare call the play *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and not *A Walpurgisnight's Dream?* Partly, I think, because of the flower magic associated with Midsummer Night and also, perhaps, because of the various superstitions connected with maidens' dreams on that night. Shakespeare seems to be saying that the events in the wood that take place under the influence of the magic flower are like the dreams of lovers on Midsummer Night. Bottom, Titania, the Athenian lovers, all believe upon awakening that the events of the night were a mere dream. And, indeed, what could be more like a dream, almost a nightmare, than Lysander's and Demetrius' pursuit of one another through the blinding fog? And the absence of all courtesy and modesty, of all the restraints shown by us in society in our waking moments, which marks the mutual recriminations and

[1]One of the exceptions is G. L. Kittredge; see p. ix of the Introduction to his edition of the play (Boston, 1939).

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abuse of the Athenian lovers under the spell of the love-juice, have about them the quality of a dream. Again, is not Bottom's ready acceptance of all the wonders of fairydom and above all of Titania's love for him like that of dreamers who take for granted the most startling events? Only when Bottom awakes does he realize that he had "a most rare vision," so strange that he will sing it for the benefit of the assembled court at Thisbe's death. We may also think of the title of the play not in relation to its principal characters but in relation to the audience. In Puck's Epilogue Shakespeare invites us to think of the whole play as merely a dream:

> If we shadows have offended
> Think but this, and all is mended—
> That you have but slumb'red here
> While these visions did appear. (V, 1, 430-3)

There seems to be one further reason for Shakespeare's choice of the title, and that is the traditional association of midsummer with madness. "Why, this is very midsummer madness!" exclaims Olivia when confronted with the grotesque courtship of Malvolio. The ridiculing of a certain kind of madness, of love-madness, forms indeed the main theme of the play and provides the connecting link between the various episodes and groups of characters. But the butt of Shakespeare's ridicule is not romantic love in general, as Charlton and Pettet seem to believe.[2] For though Shakespeare may smile occasionally at the extravagances of romantic lovers, he always treats them with the utmost indulgence as long as their love conforms to the Shakespearean norm. This norm of love has been well defined by Herford: "Love is a passion, kindling heart, brain, and senses alike in natural and happy proportions; ardent but not sensual, tender but not sentimental, pure but not ascetic, moral but not puritanic, joyous but not frivolous, mirthful and witty but not cynical."[3] It is, then, a love in which reason, senses, and feelings all work together in harmony and keep perfect balance. But the love which Shakespeare ridicules in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* is engendered in the imagination and blinds both reason and the senses. This form of love has cut itself off from reality, from the evidence of the senses, it is a creature of "seething brains," a kind of madness. This aberration from the norm of love,

[2]H. B. Charlton, *Shakespearean Comedy* (London, 1938), 113; E. C. Pettet, *Shakespeare and the Romance Tradition* (London, 1949), 111.

[3]C. H. Herford, *Shakespeare's Treatment of Love and Marriage* (London, 1921), 18.

of which Demetrius is the exemplar in the first part of the play, is thus described by Helena in the opening scene:

> Things base and vile, holding no quantity,
> Love can transpose to form and dignity.
> Love looks not with the eyes, but with the mind;
> And therefore is wing'd Cupid painted blind.
> Nor hath Love's mind of any judgment taste;
> Wings, and no eyes, figure unheedy haste.
> And therefore is Love said to be a child,
> Because in choice he is so oft beguil'd. (I, 1, 232-9)

In his book *Shakespearean Comedy* Professor Parrott declares that the central action of the play "is concerned with that phase of human love which the Elizabethans called 'fancy,' the irrational impulse that draws man to maid and maid to man."[4] But the Elizabethans seem to have used the word "fancy" very loosely, applying it to every kind of love. Shakespeare uses the word often vaguely for love in general: "And the imperial vot'ress passed on, In maiden meditation, fancy-free." In the one place where he gives to the word a more precise connotation he makes it apply to a deviation from the norm of love very different from that which is ridiculed in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. I am, of course, referring to the song in *The Merchant of Venice:*

> Tell me where is fancy bred,
> Or in the heart or in the head?
> How begot, how nourished?
> Reply, reply.
> It is engender'd in the eyes,
> With gazing fed; and fancy dies
> In the cradle where it lies.

The kind of love described here is one in which reason and the feelings are subordinate to the senses. "It is engender'd in the eyes." But in the aberration from true love which Shakespeare criticizes in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* the eyes play no part.

> Love looks not with the eyes, but with the mind.
> And therefore is wing'd Cupid painted blind.

It is engendered in the imagination, a form of madness which can make Demetrius' love for Helena change to sudden detestation and make him dote on Hermia who is no fairer than Helena, and certainly not as sweet-tempered. It is a love which is entirely divorced from both reason and the evidence of the senses.

[4]T. M. Parrott, *Shakespearean Comedy* (New York, 1949), 133.

The method used by Shakespeare to ridicule this form of love is his favourite one of parody. The whole phantasmagoria which follows upon the infusion of the love-juice into the eyes of Lysander and Demetrius stands in a parody-relationship to Demetrius' love-madness as described at the beginning of the play. There is the same sudden transference of love from one woman to another accompanied by hatred for the object of one's previous affection; there is the same disregard of reason and the evidence of the senses. The little western flower is thus the concrete embodiment of the love-madness which Shakespeare is out to ridicule. Its juice is infused into the eyes, robbing them of their power of unbiased vision, inflaming the imagination, and putting reason to flight. Ironically, its victim is under the illusion that he is following reason in making his new choice. Thus Lysander exclaims upon his transference of his love from Hermia to Helena:

> The will of man is by his reason sway'd;
> And reason says you are the worthier maid.
> Things growing are not ripe until their season;
> So I, being young, till now ripe not to reason;
> And touching now the point of human skill,
> Reason becomes the marshal to my will
> And leads me to your eyes; where I o'erlook
> Love's stories, written in Love's richest book. (II, 2, 115-22)

But the parody of Demetrius' love-madness is carried to its ludicrous extreme in the Titania-Bottom love-scenes. Here, in the infatuation of the Queen of Fairies for a weaver metamorphosed into an ass, we have displayed for our delight, as well as for our more serious reflection, the full absurdity of the kind of love which is engendered in the imagination only, uncorrected by reason and the senses. Bottom, who will not allow himself to be deprived of his mother wit nor depart one jot from his common-sense view of the world, no matter what the condition in which he finds himself, points the moral of the situation. To Titania's impassioned declaration of love,

> I pray thee, gentle mortal, sing again.
> Mine ear is much enamoured of thy note;
> So is mine eye enthralled to thy shape;
> And thy fair virtue's force (perforce) doth move me,
> On the first view, to say, to swear, I love thee,

he replies:

> Methinks, mistress, you should have little reason for that. And yet, to say the truth, reason and love keep little company together now-a-days.

The more the pity that some honest neighbours will not make them friends. Nay, I can gleek, upon occasion. (III, 1, 140 ff.)

In the mutual relationship of Theseus and Hippolyta reason and love have been made friends and keep company together. For this, as well as for other reasons (for Theseus is to some extent a chorus-character), it is fitting that the final summing up of the theme which is treated throughout the play should be entrusted to Theseus:

> Lovers and madmen have such seething brains,
> Such shaping fantasies, that apprehend
> More than cool reason ever comprehends.
> The lunatic, the lover, and the poet
> Are of imagination all compact.
> One sees more devils than vast hell can hold:
> That is the madman. The lover, all as frantic,
> Sees Helen's beauty in a brow of Egypt.
> The poet's eye, in a fine frenzy rolling,
> Doth glance from heaven to earth, from earth to heaven;
> And as imagination bodies forth
> The forms of things unknown, the poet's pen
> Turns them to shapes, and gives to airy nothing
> A local habitation and a name. (V, 1, 4-17)

The kind of love which Theseus makes fun of in this speech is precisely the one which is ridiculed throughout the play. It is the offspring of an inflamed imagination which makes the lover see "Helen's beauty in a brow of Egypt." Lover, lunatic, and poet all live among phantoms of their own creation which are unrelated to reality. Shakespeare could not have expressed his theme more clearly or forcefully.

We have seen, then, how this central theme ties together apparently unrelated portions of the play: the Demetrius-Helena relationship of the first part, the Bottom-Titania interlude, and the scenes dealing with the lovers' transference of their affection from Hermia to Helena. The Oberon-Titania quarrel is another matter. Here we are not dealing with any particular deviation from Shakespeare's norm of love but rather with the absurdity and irrationality of lovers' quarrels in general. I cannot therefore follow Mr. Pettet when he writes: "The story of the Athenian lovers must not be viewed in isolation; it must be linked with the quarrel between Oberon and Titania, which contains a fairy-world, but unmistakable variation of the same theme of fickleness and inconstancy. It is not merely that Titania deserts her husband and comes, under the influence of the magic juice, to dote upon an ass.

The whole fairy atmosphere—in the first part of the play at least—is thick with rumours of infidelities."[5] But the main theme of the play is not fickleness and inconstancy in general, it is a particular deviation from the norm of love which often *leads* to fickleness and inconstancy. Nor is there any close relation between the main theme and the "very tragical mirth" of Pyramus and Thisbe. There is nothing inherently ridiculous about the Pyramus and Thisbe love-relationship. It is much like that of Romeo and Juliet, and does not offend against the Shakespearean norm. It becomes ridiculous only as interpreted by Bottom and his companions. As such it constitutes a riotous burlesque of romantic love in general, and may thus be said to stand broadly in a parody-relationship to both the Bottom-Titania love-scenes, and to those enacted by the Athenian lovers. Looking at it in another way, we may think of the Pyramus and Thisbe play, as well as its rehearsal in the wood, as a kind of anti-masque to the main masque provided by the fairies and the Athenian lovers. But with what I regard as the central theme of the play it appears to have no connection.

Nevertheless, we see that the play is much less disjointed than has generally been believed. It is unified by a single theme which is emphasized repeatedly, from the opening scene until Theseus' summary of it at the beginning of Act V, and upon which Puck provides a fit comment: "Lord, what fools these mortals be!"

[5]Pettet, *Shakespeare and the Romance Tradition,* 112.

PETER STOLYPIN: PROGRESSIVE STATESMAN

LEONID I. STRAKHOVSKY

FORTY years ago the bullet of an assassin ended the life and work of one of Russia's greatest statesmen. Peter Arkadievich Stolypin, Prime Minister and Minister of the Interior, was mortally wounded in the evening of September 14, 1911,[1] by two bullets fired by a Jewish revolutionary, Mordka Bogrov, who also served as a secret agent of the Russian police. Stolypin died four days later. The assassination took place while he was attending a performance of Rimsky-Korsakov's opera *Tsar Saltan* in Kiev in the presence of the Emperor and members of the Imperial family. Before he slumped into his chair he turned toward the Imperial box and made the sign of the cross in its direction, thus imparting his blessing upon the Sovereign to whom he was devoted, but who by then did not understand any more, nor trust, the one man who could have saved the Russian monarchy from the catastrophe which was to come. The forces of revolution and of reaction rejoiced alike at Stolypin's death, because his progressive constitutionalism and enlightened statesmanship were hated and feared by both extremes. Lenin called him "super-hangman" and "organizer of pogroms" in his article "Stolypin and the Revolution" written one month after Stolypin's death.[2] The reactionary newspaper the *Russian Banner* echoed the words it had printed several years before: "Some time a day will come, and this will be soon, when we shall not permit the drugging of Russian citizens with promises of an overseas constitution."[3] Such venomous attacks from both the extreme left and the extreme right, whose leaders were aware that the success of Stolypin's policies would have completely transformed Russia into a free capitalistic country and thus doomed both revolution and reaction, pursued him all his life, but they merely strengthened his conviction that he was following the right path.

Stolypin was born in Dresden, Saxony, but spent his childhood on the family estate near Moscow. His father, a hero of the defence of Sevastopol in the Crimean War and later commander of an army corps in the Russian Turkish War of 1877-8, ended his career as

[1] All dates are according to the Western calendar.

[2] V. I. Lenin, *Sochineniya* (4th ed., Moscow-Leningrad, 1948), XVII, 217, 219.

[3] *Russkoye Znamya*, no. 65, March 20, 1907.

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governor of the Kremlin. Stolypin's mother was a princess Gorchakov, belonging to one of the most illustrious families of Russia.[4] He was always intently interested in agriculture and in the lot of the Russian peasant, and chose to study agriculture in the Department of Natural Sciences when he entered the University of St. Petersburg. While still at the university he married Olga Neidhart, daughter of the Grand Marshal of the Court.

After graduating from the university in 1885, Stolypin served two years in the Ministry of Agriculture. Then in 1887 he was appointed County Marshal of Nobility in the province of Kovno, where he possessed an estate. During ten years in this office he worked ceaselessly to improve the conditions of the peasants in his county. When he was appointed Provincial Marshal of Nobility he had a larger field before him. He organized the Kovno Association for Agriculture in order to co-ordinate the efforts of the three leading national groups in the province: Russians, Poles, and Lithuanians. When he was appointed Governor of the neighbouring province of Grodno in 1902,[5] one of his first acts was to present his own programme for agrarian reform at the opening session of the Committee for the Relief of Peasants. The main objectives of this programme were to encourage and develop individual peasant ownership of land, to abolish the communal redistribution of land, and to create and extend credit facilities for the peasants.[6] This was in essence the agrarian reform which he carried out four years later when he was at the head of the Russian government. In this committee he had already to combat the reactionaries who wanted to prevent the education of the peasants. Stolypin spoke out boldly: "One should not be afraid of education or of enlightenment. . . . Our country has a great need for the education of women. The spread of agricultural knowledge, which no country can afford to deny, depends on general education; the country which is lacking in it will go to ruin. Spread education and you will consolidate the agricultural class which is the most conservative of all classes in the entire world."[7] These ideas remained with him throughout his career.

He stayed only one year in his new post. In 1903 he was transferred to the governorship of the province of Saratov on the Volga, known for its strong revolutionary activity. The preventive measures

[4]*Istorichesky Viestnik*, Oct., 1911, 6; Alexandra Stolypine, *L'Homme du dernier Tsar—Stolypine: Souvenirs* (Paris, 1931), 16.
[5]A. Stolypin, *P. A. Stolypin* (Paris, 1927), 6.
[6]Nicolas Savickij, "P. A. Stolypin," *Le Monde slave*, Nov., 1933, 232.
[7]*Ibid.*, 233.

which he took there cushioned the shock of the revolutionary upheaval of 1905 to such an extent that the damage to property in his province was less than one-third of the average in nineteen other Russian provinces. To terrorism Stolypin opposed not only force but persuasion and great personal courage. At one time when he was riding at night toward a village in revolt, his carriage was destroyed by a bomb; as he continued on foot he was shot at from the darkness, but he still persevered, although he was a perfect target in his white summer uniform. He reached the village unharmed, and his calm and courageous presence there restrained violence and restored order.

Yet Stolypin's administrative duties did not obscure in his mind the conviction that the necessity for an agrarian reform was more pressing than ever. In 1904 he had sent a personal report to Emperor Nicholas II in which he discussed in detail his ideas about reform.[8] This report, and his firm policy in suppressing revolutionary activities, induced the Emperor to call him to office. On May 5, 1906, Stolypin was appointed Minister of the Interior,[9] and given control of both the regular and the secret police.

It was a difficult time. Russia seethed with revolt, and the First Duma definitely favoured revolution. As Sir Bernard Pares has remarked: "The only cabinet minister who knew how to face the Duma was Mr. Stolypin. He answered interpolations with the utmost moderation, but with the utmost firmness; and once, when the Labor group tried to shout him down, he turned on them and addressed the rest of his speech to them in a voice which rose loud and strong above all their clamor. He was the one minister who was ever cheered by any member of the Duma."[10] His success in dealing with the Duma prompted the Emperor to appoint him Prime Minister on July 21, 1906, while he still retained the portfolio of Minister of the Interior. It was the Emperor's personal decision,[11] and it came as a complete surprise not only to Stolypin but also to I. L. Goremykin, whom he was to replace as head of the government. To complicate matters, the Emperor had decided to dissolve the Duma when announcing the change of government. Stolypin definitely dissociated himself from the reactionaries who surrounded the throne, yet he had no choice but to accept his Sovereign's bid. However, at an audience with the

[8]"Vsepoddaneishy doklad Stolypina 1904 g.," *Krasny Arkhiv,* no. 17, 1926.
[9]Savickij, "Stolypin," *Le Monde slave,* Nov., 1933, 251; V. I. Gurko, *Features and Figures of the Past* (Stanford, 1939), 460.
[10]Bernard Pares, *Russia and Reform* (London, 1907), 553.
[11]*The Memoirs of Alexander Iswolsky* (London, 1920), 199.

Emperor on July 23, 1906, he stated two conditions upon which he would accept the premiership: first, the immediate dismissal of two ministers who had made themselves conspicuously odious by their reactionary tendencies and a free hand for a further reshuffling of the cabinet; second, the eventual formation of a coalition government which was to include members of the opposition.[12] The Emperor granted these conditions and noted in his diary: "I received Stolypin; from his first steps I obtained the best impression."[13]

Stolypin faced an extremely tense situation. The day before he assumed office the First Duma was dissolved and the date for the convocation of the Second Duma was fixed for March 18, 1907. This gave the government two hundred days in which to pacify the country by combatting terrorism and introducing much-needed reform. The task was complicated not only by the revolutionary parties which were preparing another uprising, but also by the liberal Constitutional Democratic party which had the largest single representation in the First Duma. Its leaders went to Finland and from Vyborg issued an appeal to the Russian people claiming that the dissolution was illegal and exhorting them to resist the government by refusing to pay taxes or to be inducted into the armed forces. Contrary to expectations Stolypin permitted the signers of the Vyborg manifesto to return home unmolested. However, they were indicted and eventually condemned for an attempt to stir up revolt. During the trial which lasted from December 25 to December 31, 1907, 166 of them were found guilty and condemned to three months' imprisonment.[14] But while under indictment, they lost their right to stand for election to the Second Duma.

Notwithstanding this defection of the leaders of the Constitutional Democratic party, Stolypin tried to obtain their collaboration for a coalition government. He began negotiations with the Octobrists, the moderate liberal group, on July 28, but reached an impasse when their leaders demanded seven out of thirteen cabinet posts.[15] As for Milyukov, the leader of the Constitutional Democratic party, he "refused all collaboration with and support of a coalition cabinet, demanding that a cabinet composed of members of the majority party in the First Duma, with himself as Prime Minister, should be formed

[12]Savickij, "Stolypin," *Le Monde slave,* Nov., 1933, 261; *Memoirs of Iswolsky,* 200.
[13]*Dnevnik Imperatora Nikolaya II* (Berlin, 1923), 244.
[14]Savickij, "Stolypin," *Le Monde slave,* Nov., 1933, 262.
[15]V. A. Maklakov, *Vtoraya Gosudarstvennaya Duma* (Paris, n.d.), 42-7.

and that such a cabinet enact immediately the Constitutional-Democratic party's programme of expropriation of land, general political amnesty, abolition of court-martials, and the convocation of a Constituent Assembly to decide the future form of government, i.e., the retention of a limited monarchy or the establishment of a republic."[16] This last proposal, of course, was not acceptable to Stolypin, who believed in the principle of monarchy and who wanted to transform Russian autocracy into a constitutional monarchy of the Western type. But although his negotiations brought no results, he did not want to alienate the liberal opposition. Hence he declared in the official communiqué of August 8 that "the desire of the government to bring into the cabinet public men of the opposition . . . met with difficulties which arose despite the good will of the government and of the public men themselves."[17] To this conciliatory statement, the "public men" responded with a letter to the press claiming that the official communiqué was untrue since the negotiations broke down because "the conditions laid down by us were not accepted by the Prime Minister."[17]

Even more dangerous to the stability of the Russian state was the action of the revolutionary parties. The Bolsheviks and Mensheviks, who had boycotted the First Duma, decided to participate in the elections while preparing at the same time a general strike and an uprising in the army and the navy. Although they failed to produce a general strike, they provoked an uprising in the two fortresses guarding the capital; in Sveaborg on the coast of Finland on July 30, and in Cronstadt on August 1, 1906. Thanks to swift and energetic measures undertaken by Stolypin and to the loyalty of part of the garrisons, the revolt was crushed after a few days of fighting. To quote the opinion of Alexander Iswolky: "Stolypin came out of this first dangerous crisis with honor. The military revolts were suppressed without recourse to an excessive severity, and the facility with which the government obtained the mastery was the best evidence that the Russian army, in spite of all the misfortunes that it had suffered, remained faithful to its chiefs."[18] But this failure to stir up a new revolutionary upheaval prompted the terrorists to strike at Stolypin himself.

It was his custom to receive petitioners every Saturday morning. Anyone could come. On the morning of August 25, 1906, he was at

[16]Savickij, "Stolypin," *Le Monde slave,* Dec., 1933, 360. "In 1917 when Milyukov's party was in power this programme was carried out with, as we know, disastrous results since it only accelerated the revolutionary process and finally brought the Bolsheviks to power." *Ibid.,* 361.

[17]Maklakov, *Vtoraya,* 48.

[18]*Memoirs of Iswolsky,* 204.

the summer villa of ministers of the interior on Apothecary Island in the delta of the Neva River. Two terrorists dressed in the uniforms of civil servants arrived in an open carriage. One of them carried a large brief-case. The vigilant eye of an attendant in the anteroom noted, however, that there was something wrong because one of them had placed a lower decoration ahead of a higher one on his chest. As the attendant began to question them more closely, the man with the brief-case shouted: "Long live the revolution!" and threw it forcefully on the floor. A terrific explosion shook the whole building, killing twenty-seven persons and wounding thirty-two.[19] Here is how V. I. Gurko, then Assistant Minister of the Interior, described the scene when he arrived half an hour later:

> The sight that greeted me was terrible. A hired landau was standing at the curb before the house, the horses dead in their harnesses. The house was in ruins; the facade was entirely demolished. The front wall had fallen, exposing to view the large vestibule and the little reception room. The ceilings of both these rooms had crashed, and had carried with them the furniture of the two rooms above occupied by Stolypin's children. Stolypin's daughter had had both legs broken and had been carried to a neighboring house. Stolypin's small son had fallen with the ceiling but was found safe among the debris. . . . Stolypin's courage was equal to the occasion. He himself carried his son from under the debris. In spite of the shock of the whole affair he maintained his composure. The force of the explosion had thrown him and his visitors to the floor even though they had been two rooms removed from the center of the explosion. A falling inkpot had smeared Stolypin's neck and the back of his head.
>
> . . . How vividly I recall the scene that followed. In a tiny washroom that faced the garden Stolypin was trying to remove the ink from his neck. . . . Wet and with water streaming from him, Stolypin exclaimed with animation: "This shall not alter our program. We shall continue to carry out our reforms. They are Russia's salvation." Nor was this a pose, for Stolypin was sincerely devoted to reform.[20]

This attitude of Stolypin's is further attested by another contemporary and colleague, Count Kokovtsov, who was then Minister of Finance:

> A day and a half after the explosion the Council of Ministers resumed its work as if nothing unusual had occurred. Stolypin's calm and self-control won the admiration of everyone. In fact, his conduct at the time unquestionably worked a great change in the way he was treated not only by the Court and St. Petersburg society, but by his colleagues as well. Heretofore he had been criticised for his provincialism and lack of know-

[19] *Istorichesky Viestnik*, Oct., 1911, 7.
[20] Gurko, *Features and Figures of the Past*, 497-8.

ledge of the capital's established bureaucratic customs. After August 25, however, he acquired great moral prestige. His nobility, courage and devotion to the state were indisputable. He gained in stature and was unanimously acclaimed master of the situation.[21]

This terroristic attack on Stolypin was only the beginning. During his five years of office he was the most hunted man in Russia. And while as a person he could face danger with courage and equanimity, as the head of the government he had to act boldly and decisively to stem the spread of revolutionary terror. This terror was directed not only against the high officials of the government, the court, the army and navy, but also against the rank and file of government employees, officers, and even ordinary policemen. Thus, from November 1905 to June 1906, from among the employees of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs alone, 288 persons were killed, 383 wounded, and 156 others were attacked but escaped injury.[22] Up to the end of October, 1906 a total of 3,611 government officials of all ranks had been killed or wounded.[23]The need for stern measures was pressing. This was realized by the Emperor himself, who sent a message to Stolypin on August 27: "I command the Council of Ministers to inform me without delay what measures it considers most adequate to undertake in order to carry out my immovable will to uproot rebellion and to re-establish order." To this he added in a postscript: "It seems that only an extraordinary law, promulgated as a temporary measure until peace and quiet were to be re-established, could give assurance that the government had undertaken decisive measures and would thus quiet everyone."[24]

In fulfilment of this command, Stolypin enacted on September 1, with the approval of his entire cabinet, the establishment of field courts-martial and gave discretionary powers to governors-general to have terrorists tried by military courts, often without due process of law. All told, these field courts-martial, from the day of their institution until they were abolished on May 3, 1907, sentenced to death and had executed 1,144 persons. In addition, 329 persons were sentenced to hard labour, 443 to imprisonment for different lengths of time, and 7 to exile, while 71 were acquitted.[25] This law was promulgated under Article 87 of the Fundamental Laws which gave the

[21]Count V. N. Kokovtsov, *Out of My Past* (Stanford, 1935), 164-5.
[22]Savickij, "Stolypin," *Le Monde slave,* Dec., 1933, 364.
[23]Alfred Levin, *The Second Duma* (New Haven, 1940), 21 n.
[24]"Perepiska N. A. Romanova i P. A. Stolypina," *Krasny Arkhiv,* no. 5, 1924, 104.
[25]Levin, *The Second Duma,* 262.

government the right to enact legislation in the interim of Duma sessions subject to approval by the next Duma.

Stolypin justified the use of Article 87 not only for the establishment of field courts-martial but also for the enactment of a series of much-needed reforms in a government declaration of September 6.[26] Interestingly enough, he received complete support for all these actions from A. I. Guchkov, leader of the moderate liberals, who declared in an interview: "I have absolute confidence in Stolypin; until now we have not had such talented and capable persons as he at the seat of power. I am convinced that he will apply all his efforts for the realization of his programme. I believe in the purity of his intentions and in his ardent love for our poor martyred fatherland, but everything will depend on the extent of his authority. The fulfilment of the promises which he has made in his declaration will be made possible only if he has sufficient power to carry them out."[27] For the time being at least Stolypin had the confidence and support of the Emperor, hence the power to carry out his programme.

As a preliminary measure to his far-reaching land reform, Stolypin obtained the consent of the Emperor for the transfer of appanage lands to the Peasant Land Bank for sale among the land-short peasants. This was enacted on August 25, the very day when he almost became the victim of revolutionary terrorists. On September 9, state lands were added to the fund of the Peasant Land Bank. On October 18, a decree abolished the last vestiges of serfdom. The peasants were equalized with other classes in domestic passport rights. They were made eligible for offices in the local administration, some of which became elective. And they could no longer be punished by land captains without trial. Finally on November 22, 1906, Stolypin enacted his famous agrarian law which followed his fundamental idea of liberating the individual peasant from the stranglehold of the village commune.[28]

Projects for nationalization, socialization, and municipalization of land had been introduced in the First Duma, but they were impractical. As G. Pavlovsky remarks: "Considering that the peasants, as a class, were already the largest landowners in Russia and that, of state lands and large estates, the greater part by far consisted of forests and only a relatively very small proportion could be transferred to the

[26] *Ibid.*, 22.
[27] *Novoye Vremya*, Sept. 9 (Aug. 27), 1906.
[28] Levin, *The Second Duma*, 22-3; Gurko, *Features and Figures of the Past*, 502.

peasants as arable, these measures could not improve the position of the peasants to any marked extent."[29] When defending his agrarian law later in the Second Duma, Stolypin pointed out that if all the land were divided among the peasants, they would possess in the fourteen central provinces of European Russia less than forty acres each and in some provinces only twenty-one. Furthermore the increase of population among the peasants in European Russia alone amounted to 1,625,000 per year, which would necessitate the provision yearly of nine and a half million acres; but there were no such reserves of land in Russia.[30] Hence Stolypin's agrarian law backed the thrifty and industrious peasant by offering to him new opportunities and the right to own his land, and took it for granted that the lazy and indolent elements in the peasant class would be either eliminated altogether or driven into the ranks of urban workers, since the growing industries of Russia demanded more and more labour. This process of transforming peasants into urban workers was already then quite far advanced.

The law of November 22 tackled practically every aspect of the agrarian problem. It set out, in the first instance, to improve the conditions of peasant farming by the substitution of compact enclosed freehold farms for the existing medley of agricultural units held communally by the village. It also provided for the improvement of the system of tenure on communal lands, by helping the peasants to eliminate inconveniences caused by the mixing together of lands assigned to different individuals. It included the provision of technical and financial assistance to peasant farmers for the improvement of their holdings and cultivation. Through the Peasant Land Bank, whose statute was revised so as to enable it greatly to extend its operations, mainly for the benefit of the poorer peasantry, Stolypin's agrarian law helped the peasants to buy more land on liberal conditions of credit, thus inaugurating a scheme of widespread internal colonization. Last, but not least, it opened up Asiatic Russia to surplus population, by developing a system of assisted emigration on a large scale into the southeastern steppes and organizing the colonization of Siberia.

Whilst striking at the revolutionaries, Stolypin was also striving to foster a strong peasant democracy. No wonder the parties of the left saw in this double policy a threat to their very existence since a strong independent class of peasant farmers would have been a bulwark

[29]G. Pavlovsky, *Agricultural Russia on the Eve of the Revolution* (London, 1930), 115-16.
[30]A. Stolypin, *P. A. Stolypin*, 15-16.

against revolution. Lenin, while calling this legislation "a progressive one in the scientific-economic sense," and recognizing that it would provide "the quickest development of productive forces, the best conditions of labour for the mass of the population," attacked it tooth and nail because he realized that its success would spell the doom of revolution in Russia. "Stolypin understood the situation correctly: without breaking up the old system of land-ownership one cannot guarantee the economic development of Russia."[31] But while recognizing the possibility of success for Stolypin's measure, Lenin stubbornly exclaimed: "The Social-Democratic Workers' Party will continue to explain, to propagandize the idea that a joint uprising of the peasants with the proletariat is the *only* possible means to prevent Stolypin's method of 'rejuvenating' Russian from succeeding."[32]

Notwithstanding the opposition from the left and from some of the extreme right, Stolypin kept his agrarian legislation on the agenda of the Duma and of the Council of State until proper enactment could be obtained. It finally became the law of the land on June 27, 1910, and was incorporated in the Code of Laws as the Statute for Land Settlement on June 11, 1911. These dates indicate what a long battle Stolypin had to fight for his agrarian reform and this notwithstanding that there was absolutely no compulsion, reliance having been placed entirely on the gradual development of the movement, encouraged by the example of the pioneers of enclosures. Yet by January 1, 1916 in European Russia alone there were 1,265,487 new peasant homesteads, nearly 11 per cent of all peasant landholdings; they owned 41,186,894 acres, representing an average holding of over 32 acres.[33] All this, of course, was destroyed by the revolution and subsequent collectivization. But as P. P. Maslov, member of the Academy of Sciences of the Soviet Union, remarked in 1924, "from 1907 to the revolution of 1917, the peasants did not display any revolutionary activity, as if the reforms of Stolypin had in effect appeased and satisfied them."[34] Another Marxist economist explained: "Stolypin's legislation has this importance, that it placed a stake not only on the legalization of capitalistic processes in the village, but also on the forcing of them, i.e., the forcing of a change from an extensive to an intensive form of rural economy"; consequently: "From 1906 to 1915 the total area of land under cultivation increased by 14 per

[31]Lenin, *Sochineniya,* XIII, 219, 230, 420.
[32]*Ibid.,* 421. Lenin's italics.
[33]S. Dubrovsky, *Stolypinskaya Reforma* (Leningrad, 1925), 290-1.
[34]Savickij, "Stolypin," *Le Monde slave,* Dec., 1933, 364.

cent; at the same time the development of productive forces in agriculture was the result not only of the increase in cultivated areas but also of a better productivity of the cultivated land, i.e., an increase in the yield of harvests."[35] Thus the total agricultural production in 1913 as compared with that of 1900 increased in value by 79.5 per cent. Truly it was said: "One does not know of such a rapid development of agriculture in the history of any European country."[36] And its stimulus was Stolypin's agrarian reform.

Stolypin followed his agrarian reform with other measures. On November 28, 1906, rules were published establishing "normal rest" for employees in commercial and craft establishments, stores, and offices.[37] This was followed by the granting of freedom of worship to the Old Believers and other dissenters from the Orthodox Church. But when Stolypin tried to remove some of the restrictions most irksome to the Jewish population of Russia he was stopped by the Emperor himself, who returned unsigned on December 23, 1906, the recommendation of the Council of Ministers to ameliorate the position of Jews, explaining in a personal letter to Stolypin: "Despite most convincing arguments in favor of adopting a positive decision in this matter, an inner voice keeps on insisting more and more that I do not accept responsibility for it. So far my conscience has not deceived me. Therefore I intend in this case also to follow its dictates."[38]

Two days earlier, on December 21, an Imperial decree established the date for elections to the Second Duma as February 19, 1907.[39] Although Stolypin's ministry had imposed some new restrictions on the electors by legal means, such as by decisions of the Governing Senate, it let the electoral campaign proceed in complete freedom, hoping that the vast majority of the electors would recognize the undoubted benefits of the legislation passed since the dissolution of the First Duma. But the results were unexpected. While the centre lost its predominant position, the extremes on the left and on the right gained. Consequently, Stolypin was to face an unfriendly legislative body.

The opening of the Second Duma was fixed for March 5, 1907. In order not to repeat the error of the preceding government and let the new assembly waste its time in sterile declamations, Stolypin had pre-

[35]Dubrovsky, *Stolypinskaya,* 13, 127.
[36]Savickij, "Stolypin," *Le Monde slave,* March, 1936, 363-4.
[37]Levin, *The Second Duma,* 23.
[38]Kokovtsov, *Out of My Past,* 167.
[39]Levin, *The Second Duma,* 60 n.

pared a vast legislative programme. In addition to the agrarian law, it included legislation concerning religious liberty, habeas corpus, civic equality, state insurance for the benefit of the working classes, an income tax bill, reform of the local autonomies or *zemstvos*, establishment of *zemstvos* in the Baltic provinces and Poland where they did not yet exist, reform of local tribunals, of the higher and secondary schools, and of the police.[40]

Two weeks after the opening of the Second Duma, on March 19, Stolypin read the government declaration outlining his entire programme for the immediate future.[41] He was followed on the tribune by Tseretelli, a Menshevik, who delivered a fiery speech, which was an outright appeal for revolution, full of hatred toward the government and constituted authority. Other orators from the left added their bit to the fire, while the protests of the right transformed the meeting into bedlam, which was quieted only by a recess. After the Duma reconvened, Stolypin demanded to be heard. He was a born orator; the historic speech he delivered had not been prepared. It was brief but breathed such force and such dignity that no disrespectful shout was heard during its delivery. After stating that the government would like to find a common ground and language with the Duma and that there was no place for hatred in common work, he ended with these words: "All these attacks are intended to cause a paralysis of will and thought in the government and the executive; they can be summed up in two words addressed to the authorities: 'Hands up!' To these words, gentlemen, the government, confident in its righteousness, can answer calmly with only two other words: 'Not afraid!' "[42] This speech made a tremendous impression. People felt that here was a real man at the head of the government. But the majority of the Second Duma refused Stolypin's proffered hand.

As time went by it was becoming more and more obvious that no collaboration between the Second Duma and the government was possible. On April 22, 1907, Stolypin reported to the Emperor: "Today I was in the Duma; the general impression is of something gray and lacking in lustre. In the commissions, according to word from government representatives, Duma members do not know how to tackle their work because of their unpreparedness and lack of ability

[40] *Memoirs of Iswolsky,* 216.

[41] A prominent member of the Duma states that neither the Second, nor the Third, nor even the Fourth Duma had had time and opportunity to consider all of the legislation proposed by Stolypin at that time. Maklakov, *Vtoraya,* 28.

[42] A. Stolypin, *P. A. Stolypin,* 8; Kokovtsov, *Out of My Past,* 172.

to work generally. The Duma is 'rotting at its roots' and many members of the left, realizing this, would like to have a dissolution now so as to create a legend that the Duma would have performed miracles but the government became afraid of such a prospect and spoiled everything."[43] Nevertheless, less than two months later Stolypin was forced to ask the Emperor for dissolution, because the Duma chose to defend revolution when it refused to lift the immunity of fifty-five of its members involved in a terrorist conspiracy against the Sovereign, members of the Imperial family, and Stolypin himself. Thus, on June 16, 1907, the Second Duma was dissolved and simultaneously an Imperial decree announced a new electoral law and set November 14 as the date for the convocation of the Third Duma. This electoral law, the opposition claimed, was in violation of the Fundamental Laws, but it resulted in creating a working majority in the Third Duma which was willing to and did co-operate with the government.

Of this time V. I. Gurko has written: "The period of the Second Duma and the first year of the Third saw Stolypin at his best. With the Second Duma he displayed a remarkable force of character and unruffled calm. . . . Stolypin was also successful in establishing good working relations with the majority of the Third Duma. . . . Under Stolypin's direction, and to a great extent owing to his clever policy, calm and peace spread over the country. After the tumult of recent years, Russia once again trod the road of enrichment and progress."[44] During the time of the Third Duma, Stolypin had only one major setback and it came from the right. On March 17, 1911, the Council of State led by a bloc of reactionary landowners voted down the law for the introduction of *zemstvos* in Poland which had been previously passed by the Duma.[45] This action sought to avoid the imposition of heavier taxes on large estates and to prevent the development of progressive and liberal ideas which thrived in these autonomous bodies, as experience in other parts of Russia had proved.[46] The day after this rejection of one of his major reforms by the upper chamber, Stolypin tendered his resignation to the Emperor, but consented to remain as head of the government provided he could pass the law over the heads of the Council of State and get rid of the two reactionary ringleaders. The Emperor reluctantly agreed, but did not forgive Stolypin for having forced his hand. On March 24, 1911, the

[43]"Perepiska," 110.
[44]Gurko, *Features and Figures of the Past,* 512.
[45]"Iz Perepiski Nikolaya II i Stolypina," *Krasny Arkhiv,* no. 30, 1928, 88.
[46]Savickij, "Stolypin," *Le Monde slave,* March, 1936, 345.

Third Duma and the Council of State were prorogued for three days, during which time the law establishing *zemstvos* in Poland was promulgated under Article 87. At the same time the two leaders of the reactionary opposition were "granted a leave of absence until the end of the year."[47]

Stolypin was the victor, but he had lost the confidence of his Sovereign and won the unmitigated hatred of the powers of reaction. Thus, before his death, his political days were counted. He went to Kiev to meet the bullets of his assassin believing it his duty to assist there at the ceremonies of the unveiling of a monument to Emperor Alexander II, because delegates of the newly elected *zemstvos* of Poland, which were established thanks to his determination, were to be presented to Emperor Nicholas II.[48] Although he had previously been rewarded by a high court title, at Kiev he was irked by inattention on the part of his Sovereign. As V. Maklakov put it: "Stolypin's task to save the Sovereign was the task of saving a drowning person who sees an enemy in his saviour."[49] And Stolypin perished in the attempt. But "to those who are not tempted by revolution, who understand what it would eventually lead to, even its postponement must be considered as a great service, because it gives a chance to avoid it altogether. We must recognize that Stolypin had rendered this great service."[50]

One may quote Gurko once more, in summary: "Stolypin was an exceptional statesman. . . . He perceived that as the position of the Duma grew stronger the educated and patriotic elements of the people were inclining more and more toward some gradual change of government with definitely national characteristics. . . . Had he been born in a country with an established parliamentary régime, he would probably have become the leader of a political party. . . . But in a country like Russia, still in large part an absolute monarchy, . . . his success was confined to strengthening the position of the central government and raising its prestige and influence."[51] But after he was gone there was no one to continue his work.

In his will Stolypin wrote: "I want to be buried where I shall be assassinated."[52] Consequently he found his last resting place in the

[47]"Iz Perepiski," 88.
[48]Savickij, "Stolypin," *Le Monde slave*, March, 1936, 367.
[49]Maklakov, *Vtoraya*, 252.
[50]*Ibid.*, 19.
[51]Gurko, *Features and Figures of the Past*, 463.
[52]Alexandra Stolypine, *L'Homme du dernier Tsar—Stolypine*, 144.

grounds of the venerated Kiev monastery of the Caves. One year after his tragic death a monument to him was unveiled in Kiev. He was represented standing erect, as if delivering a speech from the tribune of the Duma. And on the pedestal were engraved the following words from one of his speeches addressed to the revolutionaries in that body: "You want great upheavals—we want a great Russia."[58]

Stolypin's monument as well as his work were destroyed during the revolution of 1917. But his personality, his courage, his liberal ideas, and progressive statesmanship remain permanently inscribed in the annals of history.

[58]A Stolypin, *P. A. Stolypin,* 101.

A NEW POEM ON AN OLD SUBJECT FROM A NOTEBOOK OF A. E. HOUSMAN*

TOM BURNS HABER

IN the late summer of 1894, A. E. Housman's imagination, as the first of his four Notebooks shows, was trafficking with two weighty topics: the violent rivalries of young men and the worldly wisdom of his mythical Terence Hearsay, who was at this time being groomed as the spokesman of *A Shropshire Lad*. Pages 187 to 194 of Notebook A (so designated by Laurence Housman, who by the terms of his brother's will became his literary executor) belong to a period prior to the days of "continuous excitement" under which the greater part of *A Shropshire Lad* was written; but they antedate the crisis by only a few months, and by August of 1894 the first tremors of the earthquake were stirring.

We may read what was happening to Terence in the analysis which Laurence made of his brother's Notebooks before they were broken up. These are the entries in A:187-94:

187-189 An unfinished poem, fragments, and a few couplets from "Terence, this is stupid stuff."

190 Fragments.

191 "Farewell to barn and stack and tree."

192 "The star-filled seas are smooth tonight" and two lines from "Along the field as we came by."

193 "The vane on Hughley steeple."

194-197 Unfinished narrative (much corrected).

Not all of the manuscript drafts for the poems named here can be identified, for the present condition of Notebook A (and the others) is much different from that in which A.E.H. left it: the order of the pages has been lost, and many of the original sheets now exist in fragments only. However several portions of the inventory can be identified in the manuscript as we now have it: the complete page 191 is intact, dated "Aug. 1894"; we have all of 192, showing the couplet which was to go into number 26 of *A Shropshire Lad:*

> And she shall lie with earth above
> And you beside another love.

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Pages 193 and 194 are also complete, and fortunately, for the latter contains three stanzas and a little more of the poem which Laurence noted as an "unfinished narrative." Page 194 is somewhat difficult reading, for every line save one has been cancelled by an up-and-down pencil wave; and the whole page has been crossed with a huge corner-to-corner X which the poet sometimes used to retire a first draft after a later one had been written. The analysis by Laurence Housman shows that pages 194 to 197 were taken up with this poem, which allows the plausible guess that in the latter three pages, which have not survived, Housman would have had room to complete fair copy for his narrative.

What has survived is worth the eyestrain. Immediately under the numeral 194 begins this stanza:

> Ned Lear and I were drunk last week,
> Oh dripping drunk were Ned and I,
> Too drunk to see, too drunk to speak,
> Too helpless drunk to reason why.
> You might have looked through Ludlow fair
> And never spied a tipsier pair.

Indenting an inch, Housman continued:

> To Ludlow fair, the first of May
> All spic and span went I and Ned,
> Clean shirts, blue breastknots, neckties gay,
> New coats on back, new hats on head.
> And who this week are wearing those
> Two hats, the Lord Almighty knows.

(Here we have the ebriose confession which Terence eventually spoke in *A Shropshire Lad,* LXII:

> Oh I have been to Ludlow fair
> And left my necktie God knows where.)

After this prologue there was to be a quarrel and A.E.H. was in a hurry to get on into it. He was in a mood for action for, as we have seen, the graves of suicides, estrangements, fratricide, and the deaths of lovers had been freighting these portions of his Notebook. In Ned Lear he had prefigured no pacifist, and he was eager to let this rustic show his metal. So, dropping his pencil nearly a full stanza breadth, and waving aside the details of how the bibulous friends fell out, Housman wrote the ending for stanza three:

then began
The quarrel which should go with Fan.

Now that the basis for disagreement had been reached, the fourth stanza flowed readily down to the bottom of the page:

He called me all the names he knew
And many more than he could spell;
I told him things to think of too
And all about his sister Nell
And Martin Hughes, and what folks thought
And folks expected: then we fought.

This is all. How this dispute ended we shall in all probability never know. To hazard a guess: the loser was not Ned Lear.

Letters in Canada: 1950

Edited by J. R. MacGillivray

THE QUARTERLY's sixteenth annual survey of "Letters in Canada" follows the general plan of other years. It is intended that the check-lists be as complete as possible, within our chosen range; the critical surveys, because of the number of books and the strictly limited amount of space for comment, must be selective and as brief as possible. Once more it has been found necessary to hold over the essays on French-Canadian and New-Canadian letters until the July number. I would again express my thanks to the publishers of Canadian books for their co-operation in this enterprise; to the University of Toronto Library for assistance; to Miss Francess Halpenny, Assistant Editor of the University of Toronto Press, for searching out and collecting books and preparing all the check-lists, except President Kirkconnell's for "New-Canadian Letters"; and to all the contributors to the survey who have to do this extra reading and writing at the busiest season of the year for most of them.

For the first time since "Letters in Canada" was inaugurated, E. K. Brown's name does not appear at the head of the first essay, on poetry. Last autumn he wrote me that he would have to drop out because he wanted to give all the time he could towards completing the book on which he was engaged. Very few of his friends knew, as he did, that there was not much time left. By his death, on April 23, the QUARTERLY lost a friend of long standing. He wrote an article for the first volume (1932), and frequently afterwards. He was Associate Editor for many years, and kept up a close connection with the QUARTERLY after he left this university. He was a distinguished contributor to "Letters in Canada" and also, one need hardly add, to Canadian letters.

I would, finally, express my thanks to Professor Northrop Frye for agreeing to take over the survey of poetry.

PART I: ENGLISH-CANADIAN LETTERS

I. POETRY — NORTHROP FRYE

Readers of Canadian poetry will often have seen the name of Mr. James Wreford, both in literary periodicals and in the fine little anthology of a few years back, *Unit of Five*. A collection of his verse,

Of Time and the Lover, makes the fourth volume in McClelland and Stewart's "Indian File" series. Mr. Wreford lives in Ottawa, and has several qualities in common with his predecessor Lampman, notably a tendency to be much more at ease with the vegetable than with the human world. He has, however, worked harder to reconcile his love of nature and his vision of the city of the end of things. His imagery turns on the antithesis of winter and spring: he associates winter with the contemporary world and spring with the promise, not only of better times, but of deliverance from the winter world through the infinity of the moment of love and faith in the Resurrection. The central theme that love's not time's fool thus applies to patriotic and religious as well as sexual love. A conventional frame of ideas, certainly, but a solid one to build on.

Mr. Wreford is a pensive and elegiac poet: his best phrases are usually embedded in long ruminating poems, and seem to need that kind of context. Sometimes, too, a sudden poignancy breaks out, as it were unawares, from a more commonplace setting:

> The little children of her hands
> run with the horses on the sands
> cry and are fastened into bands.

Metaphysical poetry is not a good influence on him: the echoes of Donne and Hopkins in his religious poetry merely add discord: some of his puns are striking ("To part, it is to die in part"); his verbal conceits and satiric rhymes are often laboured. He is not a poet who can absorb either the prose statement or the prosaic world; his social comment is generally querulous and preoccupied, and he is ill at ease with commercial *clichés* and technological images. He is best in straight couplet and quatrain and in a Housman-like baldness of statement:

> no strong men and no heroes,
> no brave, eternal youths,
> but only fiddling Neroes
> and purple, proud untruths.

This is from the title-poem at the end, which is by far his finest work, and which shows many skilful variations in its octosyllabic metre:

> found pure when the snow is shadowed with
> the whiteness of a cloud of snow,
> how can you now destroy
> the host of your essential joy?

There are lapses of inspiration and of taste in Mr. Wreford's book, but there is also a dignified simplicity and a sincere eloquence.

Norman Levine's *The Tight-Rope Walker* shows a high level of competence in what is so far a rather restricted range. Mr. Levine is an expatriate, or regards himself as one: he has left what he calls the land of "parchment summers and merchant eyes" for England, and many of his poems have a Cornish setting. His poems are also elegiac, even to the point of using a lamenting refrain, but he has more affinity with paradox and complex statement. "Cathedral by Sea" works out a fine contrast between the physical energy of the sea and the spiritual energy and physical stillness of the building. The title-poem makes an oddly touching symbol out of its central theme:

> He was not lost. Only a little lonely
> He walked as a graveyard while around him
> Cities were no more than small lights
> Severed at the head by fog.

"Airman and Seagull Killed by Water" manages to reach an admirable final line, "What floats is dead," through some vigorous but tangled imagery.

The invaluable and dauntless "Ryerson Poetry Chap-books" series still goes on, with no fewer than six volumes this year, some in a simplified new format which I prefer to its predecessor. The best thing in them by far is Dorothy Livesay's radio play *Call My People Home,* a story of the exile of the Japanese from British Columbia during the war. It is written with close sympathy and a dry, unlaboured irony, and in a taut, sinewy narrative style with no nonsense about it: it will pick up an image as it goes along, but it never stops for any synthetic beautifying. The lyrics which follow it are also highly readable, with a crackle of wit that sometimes throws smoke instead of a spark. Such cleverness as "pianoforte of sunlight Fingering an adagio of heat" should be left to inferior writers. Goodridge MacDonald's *Beggar Makes Music* also employs a narrative form, disengaged, easy and conversational, for the title-piece and for "Last Words." The point of the latter poem is too obviously withheld until the end, but the insight it expresses has much intelligence and humour, and the same is even more true of "Beggar Makes Music." Kathryn Munro's *Tanager Feather* consists mainly of passable descriptive verse made out of assembly-line images ("Fair is the dawn on

these ancestral hills") with one poem, "Retreat," of a fresh and unhackneyed intensity. The setting of Geoffrey Drayton's *Three Meridians* is mainly the West Indies, and there is a pleasantly exotic quality in the references to hibiscus and frangipani. The epigrammatic short poems are inconclusive; two longer ones, "The Sun-Worshippers" and "Letter from the Gatineau," especially the latter, rise into a meditative eloquence. It is clear that for his best work he needs room to expand his ideas. Katherine Hale's *The Flute, and Other Poems* here and there catches a feeling of unexplained mystery, so that the total effect of "The Island" or "Arizona Desert Road" is more haunting than any lines quoted from them would indicate. Arthur Bourinot's *The Treasures of the Snow* affects a very short line which would be well adapted for bringing out rhythmical subtleties if there were more subtleties to bring out, and there is a trick of repetition which gives a certain feeling of incantation to "Haunted."

This is clearly not a banner year for Canadian poetry: the above practically exhausts the more sophisticated part of the output. In Canada, however, as elsewhere, there appears every year a fair quantity of naïve or primitive verse, to use terms more familiar in the criticism of painting. There is no reason why all of this should be out of the range of critical interest: a good deal of Burns, of Wordsworth, of Kipling, even of Emily Dickinson, is naïve poetry, and what Mr. Goodridge MacDonald calls "the truisms of popular song" are always well worth stating. One looks hopefully and constantly, in reading through this material, for some signs of an ability to express the simple rather than the commonplace emotion, to use traditional metres without unenterprising monotony, to make the art of writing a poem a fresh experience instead of a conditioned reflex of nostalgia. Occasionally one is rewarded, but self-consciousness and schoolmarmism hang cloudily in the poetic atmosphere. Of those in the check-list below, some achieve a certain uniform competence, such as R. G. Lovell's *Peace and War,* Bertram Warr's *In Quest of Beauty,* and James A. Ross's (posthumous) *The Singer and His Song,* but otherwise there is nothing for a reviewer to say except to hope that they will find their audience. The same may be said of the Poetry Books of Alberta and Saskatchewan. The latter has a picture of a wildcat on its cover, but the poetry is unvaryingly gentle.

On the other hand, Peter North's *Harshly the Rain Fell* occasionally shows an active imagination coming sharply into focus:

A black cat pads with purpose
Down an alley of void.

Grace Jacombe's *Chalk Dust* sticks closely to school-teaching and its prevailing mood of exasperated affection, and her unforced humour can be very engaging. The title-poem of Jenny O'Hara Pincock's (posthumous) *Hidden Springs* is a narrative of pioneer life in Ontario, based on an experience of a type that is usually called telepathy. It is not a successful poem, but it is quite a striking one, with some vivid descriptive flashes. Hyman Edelstein's *Spirit of Israel* is considerably more pretentious, and therefore more disappointing. Mr. Edelstein knows a great deal about Jewish culture and ritual, and has included some useful notes on them: he is a Zionist and a classical scholar, has lived in Ireland as well as Canada (a Dublin colleague contributes an urbane introduction) and shows the influence of a variety of poets, notably Heine. With all this learning and sophistication, one is chagrined to find that what he has to say never takes a poetic shape, but remains a noise without an echo. By non-poetic standards, however, the book is interesting enough.

CHECK-LIST OF TITLES

Cameron (F. J.), The hermit of Chokecherry Creek (Edmonton, Institute of Applied Art, ii, 113 pp., 1949, $2). Canadian Authors' Association, Edmonton Branch, Alberta poetry year book, 1949-50; Alberta poetry year book, 1950 (Edmonton, c/o the Secretary, Mrs. Beatrice Liddle, 9746, 103rd St., 62; 64 pp.). Dingwall (M. M.), Now that I'm fifty (Edmonton, the author, 1949, 10224, 131A St., 19 pp., $2). Drew (M. E.), Time is the measure (Carillon poetry chap-books; Foleyet, Ont., Crucible Press; Kingston, Ont., the author, 26 pp., $1). Edelstein (Hyman), Spirit of Israel, and other poems (Toronto, Ryerson, xvi, 67 pp., $3). Fraser (A. L.), Halifax, 1749-1949 (Halifax, MacCurdy Print., 1949, 16 pp., 75c.); Moose River mines and other poems (Carillon poetry chap-books; Foleyet, Ont., Crucible Press, 1949, 20 pp., 75c.). Frisch (A. J.), The house: new poems; in English, French, German (Hull, Ivy Publishing Co., ii, 32 pp., $1); Though I speak: poems (Montreal, Poison-Ivy Publishing Co., 3335 Ridgewood, 1949, 32 pp., $7). Gemmill (pseud.), *see* Kirkpatrick (Helen). Jacombe (Grace), Chalk dust (Ottawa, Tower Books; the author, 540 Highland Ave., vi, 40 pp., $1). Jaques (Edna), Fireside poems (Toronto, Allen, 88 pp., $1.25). Kirkpatrick (Helen), Ramblings in verse (Winnipeg, the author, 12 Cornwall Apts., 1949, 59 pp., $1.75). Levine (Norman), The tight-rope walker (London, Eng., Montreal, Totem Press, 30 pp., $1.75). Lovell (R. G.), Peace and war (Carillon poetry chap-books; Foleyet, Ont., Crucible Press, 28 pp., $1). Munday (Rupert), Within the tavern caught (Carillon poetry chap-books; Foleyet, Ont., Crucible Press, 40 pp., $1). North (Peter), Harshly the rain fell (Toronto, the author, 907 Dundas St. E., 12 pp., 50c.). Obodiac (Stan), The soul

speaks (Yorkton, Sask., the author; Russell's Studio, 63 pp., 75c.). PECKNOLD (D. M.), "Thoughts . . . and by-gone memories" (Port Alice, B.C., the author, P.O. Box 215, 34 pp.). POETRY SOCIETY OF ENGLAND, NOVA SCOTIA CENTRE, Nova Scotia book of verse; Halifax bicentenary ed., 1949, vol. I (Halifax, the Society, 1949, 61 pp., 50c.). PINCOCK (J. O'H.), Hidden springs: a narrative poem of old Upper Canada; and other poems (Waterloo, Ont., Mrs. F. J. T. Maines, "Gladholme," R.R. 1, 1949, xii, 66 pp., $2). RICHAN (S. H.), The unresting sea; ill. by RUTH E. TURNER ROBBINS (Barrington Passage, N.S., the author, n.d., 41 pp., $1). ROSS (J. A.), The singer and his song, and other poems (Ottawa, Tower Books, xii, 79 pp., $1.50). RYERSON POETRY CHAP-BOOKS, Beggar makes music, by GOODRIDGE MACDONALD (11 pp.); Call my people home, by DOROTHY LIVESAY (24 pp.); The flute, and other poems, by KATHERINE HALE (16 pp.); Tanager feather, by KATHRYN MUNRO (12 pp.); Three meridians, by GEOFFREY DRAYTON (8 pp.); The treasures of the snow, by ARTHUR S. BOURINOT (16 pp.) (Toronto, Ryerson, $1 each). SASKATCHEWAN POETRY SOCIETY, The Saskatchewan poetry book, 1950-51 (Regina, the Society, 2514A, 15th Ave., iv, 46 pp.). SIGURDSON (A. S.), Pencil-stub stanzas: a book of light verse (Vancouver, the author, 4333 Parker St., 91 pp.). WARR (B. H.), In quest of beauty: selected poems (Carillon poetry chap-books; Foleyet, Ont., Crucible Press; Toronto, the author, 84 Cloverlawn Ave., 40 pp., $1). WOOD (GERTRUDE), Through the year (Glen Barn, Sask., the author, 27 pp., 75c.). WREFORD (JAMES), Of time and the lover (Indian file no. 4; Toronto, McClelland & Stewart, 92 pp., $2.75).

II. FICTION

CLAUDE T. BISSELL

In *The Nymph and the Lamp* Thomas Raddall makes a sharp departure from the tradition of the historical novel to which in past years he has made a number of notable contributions. He turns from the files of history to a contemporary setting. *The Nymph and the Lamp* is also a departure from the general level of achievement of the Canadian fiction published during 1950. In a rather undistinguished year, it is the one novel of authoritative excellence.

One of Raddall's most admirable qualities as an historical novelist was the easy and confident way with which he assimilated background and mood. Now that, presumably, he is drawing upon his own experience, this quality is even more apparent. *The Nymph and the Lamp* is, above all, a novel that creates a deep sense of place. Even with the contemporary setting he has not sacrificed the appeal of the strange and the remote. Most of the action of the novel takes place on the desolate island of Marina (in sober fact, Sable Island), a long, narrow stretch of sand in the North Atlantic, some eighty miles from the Canadian coast. True, this is not the romantically sinister island of history and fable, the graveyard of the North Atlantic, that figures in so many accounts of shipwreck and piracy. By

1920, the year when the action of the novel begins, Marina was becoming a quaint relic of another age, existing on the reputation of the past and on the quixotic bounty of officialdom. Still, even in the twilight of its life, Marina could stir the imagination. There was, first of all, the very physical face of the island, pitilessly exposed to all the savagery of nature, its gaunt symmetry largely unchanged by the repeated inroads of wind and water. There were also the people on Marina, the real islanders as distinct from casual workers, wrapped in their cocoon of routine and superstition, aware of the great world outside only when the supply ship made its widely separated calls. Above all there was the wireless station which had become the very heart of Marina and which had brought to the island a little group of godlike men who could reach out and subdue time and space. Here, surely, is rich material which calls for bold and imaginative treatment, and Raddall is equal to the challenge. The feeling for mood and place, magnificently present in the main section of the novel, remains with him when he leaves the peculiar kingdom of Marina and moves among more familiar landmarks. He is just as effective, although in a more restrained and ironic way, with the shipping offices and the shabby boarding-houses of Halifax that provide the backdrop for the opening scenes, and with the placid and dowdy little village in the Annapolis Valley where, in the final sections of the novel, the heroine achieves a reconciliation with her own soul.

The power to convey a sense of place is a precious asset to a novelist. But it must be accompanied by a like power to create character and to devise a series of situations that will display the moving logic of human motives and emotions. In these last two respects, there is a falling-off in Raddall's achievement, although it still remains a notable one. Certainly in Matthew Carney, the bearded, Viking-like figure who had become a legend among wireless operators, the lonely wanderer who had preserved inviolate the innocence and integrity of his soul, Raddall has created a memorable character. The strength of this characterization rests in its perfect fusing with background. Carney is Marina in human terms, its austere beauty, its calm disregard of the irrelevancies of change. The two other major characters are not conceived of in such grand and original terms. Indeed there is about each of them a suspicion of the trite and the fabricated. Isabel Jardine, the heroine, is a little like the unattractive repressed spinster who, on discarding her spectacles and her major inhibitions, is suddenly revealed as a creature of subtle charm and beauty. And

Gregory Skane, the second man in the triangle, is not unlike the dark, embittered figure of the romance, contemptuous of women, but, despite himself, enslaved by an irresistible passion. The plot, too, has a wearily familiar ring. For, on the surface, it dutifully follows the sequence of sudden rapturous love, estrangement and unfaithfulness, and final healing reconciliation. But the old story takes on a new depth in Raddall's novel. For one thing, the finely imagined background seems to put the familiar situations in a fresh context; and, for another, the situations are used as a means of illuminating characters and of assessing the worth of human experience. Raddall is particularly adept in the handling of sex relationships, something rare in the Canadian novel where the subject is either elaborately camouflaged or paraded with embarrassing pomp and circumstance. Sex relationships are important in *The Nymph and the Lamp* and they are analysed fully and frankly, but they are only one part of the pattern of human behaviour.

The major weakness of *The Nymph and the Lamp* is that Raddall intends his plot to bear a weight of meaning that it cannot quite sustain. This weakness reveals itself, it seems to me, in the final scenes. Deeply moved by the news that Carney is swiftly going blind—in itself a rather patent plot contrivance—Isabel resolves to rejoin him on Marina and to ignore the impassioned pleas of her lover. Raddall doesn't want us to think that Isabel's decision is based simply on pity or on the triumph of virtuous love. He would have us believe that it is much more than that. When Isabel returns to Carney, she will come not simply as the lamp to lighten his darkness, but as the nymph of the old Norse legend, bringing from the mysterious depths of the sea a beauty that will transform his life. But despite the neat, although rather too explicit use of the Norse legend, one doubts whether Isabel's return is anything more than a virtuous act of self-denial, whether, indeed, she can bring strength to a man who has long since won an austere victory over the things of this world.

Whatever doubts may arise as to the success of *The Nymph and the Lamp* as a critical evaluation of experience, certainly those doubts will not be serious enough to alter the conviction that here we have a skilful and finished novel. So far I have not mentioned what is perhaps the most obvious of Raddall's accomplishments, and what in itself raises this novel above the ruck of Canadian fiction. *The Nymph and the Lamp* is written by a man who delights in words and who knows how to discipline them so that they move forward swiftly and rhythmically.

Historical fiction, which Raddall has abandoned, perhaps temporarily, is represented this year by Louis Vaczek's *River and Empty Sea* and W. A. Plenderleith's *Conflict*. The two novels have nothing in common except a reliance on historical record. The first sentence of Mr. Plenderleith's novel tells us what we may expect: "It was a hot May morning in that fateful year, 1773, when Alexander Sinclair, the handsome young surgeon's mate of the privateer, *Mercury,* entered the tap-room of the 'Crown and Anchor.' " The novel reads almost like a parody of the sensational historical romance. All the stock ingredients are there: a tender romance crossed by repeated frustration and misunderstanding, a generous sprinkling of salacity, and long, cheerfully gory descriptions of naval encounters, land battles, and Indian massacres. In his Foreword Mr. Plenderleith acknowledges the help he has received from various technical experts on guns and armaments, military tactics and strategy, sailing ships and navigation; and from two research-assistants and three stenographers. With so much talent and industry at his disposal, it may be that Mr. Plenderleith suffered from an embarrassment of riches.

If *Conflict* almost undermines one's faith in the historical novel, *River and Empty Sea* effectively restores it. In a measure, *River and Empty Sea* is a solid, detailed chronicle, based, as a number of other Canadian historical novels have been, on a close study of the *Jesuit Relations*. The two principal characters, Paul Denys, Sieur de St. Simon, and the Jesuit father Albanel, are actual historical figures; their journey in the year 1672 to Hudson Bay, with which the novel is largely concerned, was one of those heroic plunges into the wilderness that made the last thirty years of the seventeenth century the great era of exploration in New France. Mr. Vaczek also deals, although in a more cursory way, with the little island of Quebec officialdom; the Intendant and the Governor, Talon and Frontenac, much more familiar figures, of course, than the two principals, are carefully presented. By thus confining himself to actual historical figures, Mr. Vaczek has, you may say, ignored his proper responsibilities as a novelist. But his scholarly caution has yielded compensating results. The reader is not conscious in this novel of the disturbing dichotomy that often arises in the historical novel between what is given by history and what is added by invention. Moreover, Mr. Vaczek has studiously avoided the sensational and all the shoddy trappings that too often distinguish the genre. This is a leisurely, lovingly detailed account of the life of the voyageur, whether he be a Jesuit with a passion for souls, a trader with a lust for furs, or simply, like Vaczek's hero, a

cultivated man of the world who has discovered in the rigorous mysteries of the forest an answer to the boredom and unreality of life in the wretched little provincial capital. I have described *River and Empty Sea* as a chronicle. It fails to give the sense of interplay between characters and plot, the sense of a steady progression towards an inevitable resolution that one finds in a novel like *The Nymph and the Lamp*. But it is certainly much more than a bald narration of events. The characters are carefully studied and boldly projected. Father Albanel, for instance, is both an individual in his own right and a brilliantly clarifying analysis of the Jesuit—a complex yet unified study, part intrepid explorer, part adopted Indian, part French patriot not above political scheming, and, part humble servant of God. Mr. Vaczek joins an increasing number of young Canadian writers to whom the immediate future of the Canadian novel would seem to belong—a group that includes Henry Kreisel, W. O. Mitchell, Christine van der Mark, Selwyn Dewdney, Hugh Garner, Joyce Marshall, and Sinclair Ross.

Novels about the West comprise as distinctive a type in Canadian fiction as historical romance. The Canadian West still provides the richest material for the pioneer novel. Frederick Philip Grove's theme of man's adjustment to a rigorous physical environment has recurred in much serious fiction about the Canadian West. It is this theme with certain contemporary refinements that engages the attention of Edward McCourt in his new novel, *Home is the Stranger*. This is a more tightly constructed, a more concentrated work than his first novel, *Music at the Close,* which tended to be loosely chronological and biographical. He relies less on the impact of big external events, on social change and political and economic conflicts, and turns inward to a self-contained world of emotion and passion. His leading character is an Irish war-bride who comes with her small son to join her husband on a large prairie farm. Although Norah emerges from a background of shabby gentility where she has known little security or happiness, she does not find in her new home an exhilarating change. She quickly discovers that her husband has lost many of the boyish charms that were so irresistible when he wore a uniform and was magically disengaged from a background of ugly farm-houses and waving wheatfields. Her neighbours are honest and well-meaning, but they are suspicious of this sophisticated young lady from across the seas. And above all, there is the loneliness and the sense of an oppressive force in land and sky that steadily closes in on the hapless individual. "It's

a hungry earth," remarks one of the characters gloomily. "It feeds on our hopes, on us." Little wonder, then, that Norah turns for comfort to the romantic speeches and the skilled embraces of Brian Mallory, an Irish remittance man of ambiguous reputation. In the end, however, Norah achieves a reconciliation with herself and with the new life. She is suddenly released from her infatuation for Brian, and the death of her young son, partly as the result of her own selfishness and carelessness, plunges her into a purgatory from which she emerges with a clear and stoic vision. McCourt handles one side of his theme effectively: the struggle of the delicate and sensitive alien to come to terms with the terrifying impersonality of nature. But he fails, I think, to relate this convincingly to the human drama. The trouble here is largely a matter of characterization. Jim, Norah's husband, is a peculiarly unattractive hero, a cheerfully obtuse young man whose two passions are growing wheat and playing baseball. And although we are asked to accept Norah's final judgment on Brian as a "phoney," he is, by contrast with Jim, a character of attractive complexity. Mr. McCourt's prose style, too, is not completely adequate: his prose is that of a cultivated writer, a little formal and stiffly literary, effective enough in set-pieces of description and anaylsis, but not sufficiently flexible to give us the impress of life.

The second novel about the Canadian West, *Fold Home* by Flos Jewell Williams, neatly reverses the theme of *Home is the Stranger.* In this novel the land symbolizes all that is fresh and joyous as opposed to the sordid world of politics, social climbing, and business. The "land" is not, however, a remote prairie wheat farm; it is an elegant ranch near the foothills of the Rockies which has most of the amenities of the Banff Springs Hotel. Here Mrs. Williams assembles a fascinatingly diverse group of characters: an elderly widow, the owner of the ranch, who is descended on her mother's side from an Indian chieftain; her brood of difficult children, young men and women who are beginning to show the results of mixed inheritance and a pampered upbringing; a titled English politician who has abandoned his idealistic principles for the sake of social prestige; his understanding and benevolent wife; his beautiful secretary who has been deeply in love with him for years; and a vulgar politician who specializes in foisting bad oil stock on the public. Given such a powerful mixture, there are inevitable explosions. In the end, however, all turns out well. The weak characters are saved from their own folly, and the strong characters find happiness. If Mr. McCourt has occasion

to revise his recent book on *The West in Canadian Fiction,* he may experience some difficulty in finding an appropriate niche for Mrs. Williams' volume.

Fold Home touches lightly on social and political affairs and offers some discreetly liberal comments on the shortcomings of big business and the moral cowardice of politicians. Two novels of the year, Jeann Beattie's *Blaze of Noon* and Lionel Shapiro's *Torch for a Dark Journey,* give political matters a much greater prominence. In intention, although certainly not in achievement, they are akin to the novels of Arthur Koestler: they try to convey through character and action the moral implications of political belief. Like Koestler, too, they descend into the dark heart of communism.

Miss Beattie's novel, which won the Ryerson Fiction Award for 1950, has the larger claim on our attention if only because Miss Beattie writes definitely and sometimes aggressively as a Canadian. Her leading characters are two young Canadian girls who leave their jobs on a southern Ontario small town newspaper to seek their fortune in New York. They have both fallen victim to the romantic fever that rages most virulently in southern Ontario and that leaves the patient with the conviction that only in New York can one savour the full richness of living. "Think of it!" says one of Miss Beattie's young ladies, "To live in a city of eight millions, to be a part of it, to know all the layers and live with the very essence of life. . . ." Although Miss Beattie never lets us forget that her two heroines are Canadians living in an alien city and introduces a number of scenes for no other apparent purpose than to emphasize this fact, it is clear, none the less, that they suffer from New York fever. For all the talk about the cruelty and soullessness of the city, this is really the great good place where life is an adventure and not a routine. Perhaps it is because of the mood of the novel, nostalgic and romantic, that I found it difficult to believe that one of the male leads was a genuine Communist of a particularly embittered variety. But unless we accept that, then a large part of Miss Beattie's novel becomes a series of solemn seminars in political theory or, perhaps more accurately, a protracted bull-session transferred from the student residence to New York apartments and night clubs. Miss Beattie writes with verve and with considerable sensitivity to language, but I found that the witty and brittle exchanges between her young ladies and her young men became increasingly irksome.

Mr. Lionel Shapiro's *Torch for a Dark Journey* is a much more skilful piece of fiction than *Blaze of Noon*. As in his previous novel, *Sealed Verdict,* Mr. Shapiro moves warily between the requirements of the Hollywood scenario and his own serious interest in moral and political problems. He chooses for his scene a small luxury hotel in France near the Belgian border, and he assembles there a group of Europeans and Americans, each of whom has an obvious cinematic quality: an aura of the mysterious, a suggestion of the corrupt, a strong idiosyncracy. The hero is an American, an ace reporter for an American news agency, and he has been sent to the hotel to get a story about the famous Czech scientist who is resting there after his escape from the Communist régime. The scientist is not exhilarated by his new-found freedom: he is torn between his love for his country and for his people—a love that is subtly exploited by the young Communist official who has been sent to bring him back—and the realization that the freedom he longs for has been purchased with tainted money. The dilemma of the scientist is so cogently presented that we acquiesce in his suicide as the only possible solution. There is about *Torch for a Dark Journey* a quality of worried introspectiveness, a sense of the complexity of moral choice that raises it considerably above the level of most journalistic fiction. But I have the uneasy feeling that when the movie version appears most of this will be lost and that, aware of this probability, Mr. Shapiro has cheerfully resolved to make the best of two worlds.

In previous surveys I have referred to the Canadian school of didactic fiction. Novelists in this school are custodians of one of the strongest cultural traditions in English Canada, a tradition which in its purest form is fundamentalist and evangelical in theology and rigorously puritan in ethics. Of the contemporary Canadian novelists who derive from that tradition Grace Campbell is undoubtedly the best. She is, you might say, a more sophisticated and a more artistically self-conscious Nellie McClung. Unlike most writers in the didactic school, Mrs. Campbell never harangues her readers; she never mistakes Mrs. Grundy for a prophet. *The Tower and the Town,* her latest novel, is about a preacher and the trials and triumphs of his first charge. In her young clergyman Mrs. Campbell gives us an exponent of a vital, unsentimental religion which is firmly grounded in belief and faith. The sympathetic portrayal of the life of the clergyman is not the easiest of tasks for the modern novelist. Mrs. Campbell's

success with this subject is evidence of a sound craftsmanship: by a technique of calculated simplicity she sets situation and character clearly before us. My chief criticism is that, as in her preceding novel, *Fresh Winds Blowing,* she is too sparing in her use of detail, and that this, combined with a strong appetite for incident, creates the impression of thinness and superficiality. In one respect, too, she follows an unattractive feature of the didactic school: she cannot forgo the emotional luxury of introducing into her novel violent and accidental death.

For the first half of Eric Cecil Morris's novel, *Trespass against None,* nothing could remind you less of the didactic school. It seems clear that Mr. Morris is writing a mannerized social satire filled with clever puppets who are meant to be laughed at and not to be taken seriously. His analysis of lower middle-class life in Toronto is often neatly effective: accurate enough to have a shrewd satiric point, exaggerated enough to achieve the release of laughter. Then half way through the book something happens to Mr. Morris and to his hero, Walter Rutby. Mr. Rutby is a middle-aged teller in a large downtown Toronto bank, a dull, respectable, and hopelessly unsuccessful man who, inspired by the reading of a pornographic novel, turns his own erotic day-dreams into a best-seller. His novel, *The Truant Passion,* brings him notoriety and riches. At the behest of his publishers he visits Europe, and there he experiences a spiritual awakening. A series of interviews with a manly young English clergyman and with a direct, open-hearted English spinster open his eyes to the enormity of what he has done. After a brief burst of debauchery in Paris, he returns to Toronto, and is now, so we are told, writing another book. "But it is a very different sort of book, not at all like 'The Truant Passion.' The main point of difference may be that he has received the inspiration for it not from 'Eternal Venus' but from the eternal verities."

Only three of the remaining books of the year appear to require any comment in this survey. Frances Shelley Wees's *Melody Unheard* is the kind of a novel that I have previously described as domestic romance. The domestic romance confines itself to a family circle or to a closely related, self-contained social group, and the main emphasis is given to the glamour and heartache of romantic love. Mrs. Wees adds to this a gentle concern for the problems of the artist. Her heroine is a young pianist of genius, and there is a companion study of a painter who has difficulty in reconciling his inner convictions and his emotional entanglements. Mrs. Wees knows precisely the demands of the audience she is writing for and she satisfies those demands

with some skill and deftness. Finally there are two books that are chronological accounts of experience. Sheila MacKay Russell's *A Lamp is Heavy* is presumably fictionalized autobiography. It is a lively and, at times, moving narrative of the life of a student nurse. It is not difficult to understand why the book should have been so popular: the author has a sprightly style that only occasionally becomes arch and facetious, and she has a sharp sense for the dramatic situation. Mr. Dick Diespecker's *Elizabeth,* a fictionalized biography, is a much more elaborate and pretentious book. To some extent this is the story of a pioneer, of the heroic attempts of a mother to find security for her family in new lands. The story stretches from the late nineteenth century to the years after the First World War; it begins in South Africa, moves to England, then to British Columbia, back again to South Africa, and returns, finally, to British Columbia. The basis of the books is a simple, unselective recording of what happened to Elizabeth and her family, but Mr. Diespecker has overlaid this with an ornate literary structure. The chronicle is broken by long passages of description, by descents into the mind of Elizabeth, and by a good deal of verse and rhythmical prose. Both the verse and the prose are characterized by the heavy use of inversion and the compound epithet, and by a tireless search for the unusual adjective. When Mr. Diespecker performs on the organ, he leaves no stops unpulled.

The reading of the total number of Canadian novels published in a single year is not the best way to sharpen one's critical impression of the general course of Canadian fiction. Most of the fiction of any one year is ephemeral and is mercifully forgotten. To get a clear picture of what is happening in Canadian fiction, one must go back and follow the course of writers such as Callaghan, MacLennan, and Raddall, who, whatever their defects, are trying honestly to solve their artistic problems; and one must recall the heartening number of individual novels of excellence that have been appearing since the Second World War. Still one may venture a cautious generalization on the basis of this year's total output. After one sets aside Raddall's *The Nymph and the Lamp,* possibly also Vaczek's *River and Empty Sea* and McCourt's *Home is the Stranger,* what remains is an impression of a vast mass of incident that signifies very little. In a recent essay about the novel Elizabeth Bowen wrote that "for the form's sake, one is always having to make relentless exclusions." There is no place, she adds, for "vague romanticized feeling or the received idea," nor is the novel "the parade-ground of indignation or fantasy." This is the difficult lesson that most of our writers must learn: that a novel is not an agreeable

portrait gallery plus a number of unusual happenings; it is an organic whole that is born out of deep feeling and intense thought.

CHECK-LIST OF TITLES

BEATTIE (JEANN), Blaze of noon (Toronto, Ryerson, vi, 353 pp., $3.50). CAMPBELL (GRACE), The tower and the town (Toronto, Collins, viii, 342 pp., $3). CHARACH (PAUL), Power of a woman (Winnipeg, the author, Room 203, 334 Portage Ave., 1949, $1.50). DIESPECKER (DICK), Elizabeth; with drawings by RON JACKSON (Toronto and Vancouver, Dent, xii, 170 pp., $3). GUEVREMONT (GERMAINE), The outlander; trans. by ERIC SUTTON (New York, Whittlesey House; Toronto, McGraw-Hill Co. of Canada, viii, 290 pp., $3), Eng. ed., Monk's Reach (London, Evans). HEWITT (FOSTER), Hello Canada, & hockey fans in the United States (Toronto, Allen, 143 pp., $1.25). LEMELIN (ROGER), The Plouffe family; trans. from the French by MARY FINCH (Toronto, McClelland & Stewart, 373 pp., $3.50). MCCOURT (E. A.), Home is the stranger (Toronto, Macmillan, x, 269 pp., $3). MILLAR (MARGARET), Do evil in return (New York and Toronto, Random House, viii, 243 pp., $2.50). MOORE (F. S.), Fair is my love (Avalon books; New York, Bouregy & Curl; Toronto, McLeod, 252 pp., $2). MORRIS (E. C.), Trespass against none (Montreal, Whitcombe and Gilmour, 317 pp., $3). NOTA BENE (pseud.), To hell and back (Winnipeg, Mail Order Service, 290 Graham Ave., 1949, 291 pp., $3.50). PLENDERLEITH (W. A.), Conflict (Toronto, Ryerson, x, 328 pp., $3.50). RADDALL (T. H.), The nymph and the lamp (Toronto, McClelland & Stewart, iv, 376 pp., $3). RUSSELL (S. M.), A lamp is heavy; ill. by JEAN MCCONNELL (Philadelphia, London, Montreal, Lippincott; Toronto, Longmans Green, x, 257 pp., $4). SHAPIRO (LIONEL), Torch for a dark journey (New York and Toronto, Doubleday, viii, 246 pp., $3.25). STEELE (HARWOOD), Ghosts returning (Toronto, Ryerson, xii, 272 pp., $3.50). TILLER (S. C.), Stormswept (Toronto, Ryerson, viii, 213 pp., $2.75). VACZEK (LOUIS), River and empty sea (Boston, Houghton Mifflin; Toronto, Allen, xii, 372 pp., $4). WALKER (DAVID), Geordie (Boston, Houghton Mifflin; Toronto, Allen, viii, 209 pp., $3). WEES (F. S.), Melody unheard (Philadelphia, Macrae Smith; Toronto, Ryerson, 253 pp., $3.25). WESTON (GARNETT), Legacy of fear (New York, M. S. Mill and William Morrow; Toronto, Collins, viii, 245 pp., $3). WILLIAMS (F. J.), Fold home (Toronto, Ryerson, vi, 265 pp., $3.50).

III. DRAMA[1] VINCENT TOVELL

In a short talk prepared as an introduction to the radio version of his "Riel," John Coulter discussed the play's origins. For some years, he explained, he had wanted to write a stage play on the theme of Canada emerging as a nation, on some subject "of the very bone and

[1] We might remark at the outset that it is not possible to comment on all the new plays presented in Canada in 1950. Some of the scripts were, regrettably, not available to us. Reasons of space prevent consideration of the one-act plays reported to us by writers such as Margaret Angus, Eric Candy, Agnes S. Binns, Anne Flavell, Mrs. G. W. Moss, William Petty, Gwen Pharis Ringwood, Kenneth A. Robertson. For the same reasons it is not possible to provide a check-list of radio drama.

sinew of Canada." The story of Louis Riel's influence on the development of the Northwest occurred to him as one of the greatest opportunities our history offered for such a play. Until recently Riel's name and career have been clouded by legend and prejudice, but Mr. Coulter saw that as "a sort of John Brown of the North" he could, and should, be revealed as much more than a common criminal, a fanatic rebel, an illiterate half-breed, and whatever else his enemies had called him, since he had been, in fact, a popular leader of uncommon ability and a personality of extraordinary complexity. Moreover, the principles for which he fought and died could be presented as matters of vital importance and interest to any of us today.

Mr. Coulter's play falls chronologically into two parts. The first tells of the first rebellion in 1870. The second begins fifteen years later, with Riel's return from exile in Montana, and comes to the climax of his trial and execution. The action shifts back and forth from the Northwest to Ottawa and we see the conflicts at several levels: among Riel's own people and among the national leaders (Sir John A. Macdonald appears as Riel's most distinguished antagonist). In order to include the necessary background, Mr. Coulter has built the drama on a pattern recalling the Elizabethan chronicle plays. The scenes are designed to be presented in quick succession against a minimum of scenery, and a large cast is involved. The trappings of pageantry, drums, music, banners, and so forth are used from time to time to highlight the action, link scenes, and sustain the emotional continuity.

But at the centre of the drama is Riel himself; the playwright intends that the focus shall remain on him. "Riel" is neither a pageant nor a historical documentary but rather, a dramatic portrait. In its present form, however, though Riel's personality is variously reflected in action, its dramatic impact is not sufficiently sustained. Or, at any rate, in the first production that the play was given, when it was staged under exceptionally disadvantageous circumstances (by the New Play Society of Toronto), Riel emerged only intermittently as a magnetic figure. The developing action lacked tension and suspense so that, consequently, the story of his rise and fall from power was neither as exciting nor as moving as it ought to have been. It is hard to be sure whether the play or the production was at fault, but Mr. Coulter has made the director's and the actors' problems more difficult by adopting a detached and impartial attitude towards the very enigmatic protagonist. The play presents many opinions about Riel and a good deal of evidence concerning him; it records him fully;

but it does not interpret him. In the end Mr. Coulter leaves us with the questions that stimulated him, the puzzle of Riel's personality and the problem of placing and evaluating him in history, but without the author's own opinions. Had he been willing to adopt a point of view and set out the story from that perspective, its significance, and the drama inherent in it, might perhaps have been fixed more vividly in our minds.

When next it is produced, if adequate rehearsal time is allowed for the director and the author to tighten and strengthen it wherever this is necessary, "Riel" ought to emerge as an unusually interesting and worthwhile work. It offers a serious challenge to any company and should bring them gratifying rewards.

Mr. Robertson Davies has also used a crisis in Canadian history for the background of his new play, *At My Heart's Core*. It is set on an Ontario homestead during the Mackenzie rebellion. But his story is fanciful and cheerful. Mrs. Frances Stewart, the gracious wife of the Hon. Thomas Stewart, M.L.C., J.P., Mrs. Catherine Parr Traill, and her equally celebrated sister Mrs. Susanna Moodie, are visited by a mysterious, charming, and malicious neighbour, one Cantwell, who makes it his business to awaken in the heart of each of these ladies the deepest discontents. Each, it seems, is a civilized person, compelled to make a major sacrifice of talent and pleasure to live with her husband in this uncivilized and ungrateful place. Mrs. Stewart, we learn, could have led a leisurely and decorative life in England. Mrs. Traill had remarkable gifts, largely wasted, as a naturalist, and Mrs. Moodie some undeveloped literary ability. The ladies have tried their best to accept the pioneer lot cheerfully but the malevolent Cantwell tempts them to bitter complaint and even to revolt; and by making each of them aware of what success and happiness she might have achieved elsewhere he seriously disturbs their peace of mind. Though he fails to shake their resolve he does manage, very effectively, to remind us that, in addition to enduring physical hardships, our ancestors experienced intense emotional and spiritual torments in the loneliness of the new land.

This main plot is frankly contrived to make that point. (Cantwell, indeed, is so obviously a catalyst that Mr. Davies, as if in embarrassment, tried to provide a psychological motivation for his cruelty, which, since it is not convincing, nor really necessary, was a mistake.) But a good deal of the action in the play is provided by an uproarious sub-plot. It involves Felim, a ferocious old Irish settler, and his adopted daughter, now the mother of his child, whom Mrs. Stewart

has undertaken to protect. As examples of the company the ladies were forced to keep, this pair greatly strengthen the thesis of the main plot, and Felim's attitude towards the gentry, mingled awe and contempt, gives rise to some excellent broad comedy.

The charm of this most entertaining play lies mainly in its dialogue, which is literate and very polished. The scenes between Cantwell and the ladies are witty and graceful, suggesting the period perfectly, and the outlandish extravagances of Felim contrast beautifully with them. On the whole the play communicates such a spirit of exuberance and cheerfulness, delicately balanced with a sensitivity to the poignant theme, it is no wonder that from its first performance last summer (by the Peterborough Summer Theatre, under the author's direction) it proved very popular. In its published form it is a stageworthy script and it would seem likely that it will be played many times in the future.

A second, and earlier, play by Mr. Davies, "King Phoenix," was presented by the North Toronto Theatre Guild in last year's regional drama festival under the direction of Herbert Whittaker. "King Phoenix," being by Mr. Davies, has its lively and entertaining qualities, chiefly qualities of dialogue, but it is a very much less satisfying play than *At My Heart's Core*. The story involves plots and counterplots at the court of Old King Cole in ancient Albion; it culminates in his sacrificial death and triumphant spiritual victory. The significance of all this is unfortunately very slightly and hazily developed and the occasional moments of amusing conversation cannot make up for that.

Number Five Cheyne Row, a biographical play in four acts, by John Bruce Cowan, is about the marriage of Thomas and Jane Carlyle. The narrative is bound together by the conflict of jealousy which played so large a part in their lives. Both Carlyles are presented with sensitive understanding; Mr. Cowan shows that their problems arose, perhaps inevitably, out of the clash of their wills and temperaments in spite of their real attempts to keep control of them. He withholds judgments, taking care instead to make us feel the situation of each in turn. Though the emphasis is consistently on the two central characters, there is also some suggestion of the intellectual world of which the Carlyles were an important part; for example we see a little of Jane's relationship with Charles Darwin and something of Thomas's with John Stuart Mill. These moments add interest to the story. There is nothing either startling or very original about this play but it has solid values for the theatre: a firmly developed plot,

smooth and intelligent dialogue, and, best of all probably, two fine parts for the principal actors.

There seem to be at least two main themes running through "Narrow Passage," a three-act play by Andrew Allan. The action takes place in a small Ontario city, Grantville, and the main plot involves the apparent, though not actual, mercy-killing of an invalid by her nurse. The nurse, it seems, loves the woman's son. She considers the mother's lingering illness an obstruction to that love and to the boy's career in New York as a concert pianist. Her intentions give rise to some discussion of euthanasia and of what Mr. Allan calls "the Grantville conscience" which resists it. As the plot develops we discover, however, that the young man does not love the nurse at all and, moreover, that he has no musical talent worth developing. In the end he runs away with a New York girl. The big city has won him away from Grantville but—we are left to feel—his heart will never leave home, since he is, after all, a product of Grantville and cursed with the blessings of its influence on his personality.

The play might have been about the relationship between the young man and the nurse. But Mr. Allan has been tempted into generalizing it into a discussion of two very broad subjects, euthanasia and town vs. city, which are not clearly related to one another in this instance at all. Had the discussions been used to illuminate the characters, the play might have succeeded as a problem play. But unfortunately they only obscure them without being in themselves sufficiently developed to make this an effective play of ideas.

There are two other full-length plays to be mentioned. "Days of Grace," by William Doyle, begins with the problem of a distinguished civil servant who can no longer maintain his home and family according to his standards on his moderate salary. Tradition, class feeling, his own tastes and those of his extravagant dependents all conspire to drive him, secretly, into dubious business enterprises, apparently very much against his will. Before long though, when he has begun to enjoy the benefits of money again, he has to come to terms with his conscience. He even consents in the end to his daughter's marriage to the man with whom he has made the illegal transactions, thus securing his fortune and, one would suppose, inviting future complications. The curtain is lowered on this *dénouement,* unfortunately before we are given any idea of the author's intentions. It is anyone's guess as to whether the play is to be taken as a satire on bourgeois hypocrisy or as serious advice. Inquiries may perhaps be addressed to the Canadian Repertory Theatre in Ottawa where it was staged last year.

In Norma MacMillan's farce, "A Crowded Affair," a young widow seeking a husband finds herself involved with a handful of preposterous bores who clutter the stage for two hours before she can decide finally to marry her butler. He, by the way, turns out to be Canada's most distinguished art-critic.

This survey obviously cannot undertake to list or report on all the original plays for radio presented by the CBC during the year. The scripts referred to here are only samples: but it is hoped that they fairly indicate something of the variety and standard of Canadian radio drama.

The CBC's "Stage" series offered very little new, original material last year. Ted Allan's fable, "Willie the Squowse," attempts to satirize the value we put on money. Willie, a squirrel-mouse, inadvertently enriches a destitute family and so gives Mr. Allan his occasion. The comment, however, is not very fresh and it is weakened by the sentimentality of the story and by some irritatingly arch dialogue. Tommy Tweed's satire on Newfoundland's entry into the Canadian confederation is sharp and lively, however, and an excellent example of his cartoons for radio—a form he appears to have invented. We are asked to follow "The Man from No. 10" on a most disturbing journey through a series of august Canadian institutions, political, economic, social, educational. Each stop-over gives Mr. Tweed his chance to fire off a series of cracks at Canadian behaviour, some of them very funny indeed and many discomforting. The level of joking is uneven and the script is over-long perhaps, but much of it is intelligent, original, and good-natured fun. The performance was repeated by request.

On the CBC's "Summer Theatre" series of half-hour plays, Joseph Schull offered two scripts, good examples of his ability to tell a story in radio form. "The Devil's Mother-in-Law" as a fairy tale, briskly dramatized, and "The Man Who was a Horse," an anecdote about an unpopular man punished by his neighbours, are told with humour and skill. Ted Allan's play, "Big Boys Shouldn't Cry," based on his own short story, presents a tense situation: a small boy is forced to accompany his psychotic father on a long, terrifying walk. The child's agonized attempts to steer the man home make up the action. It is a pity Mr. Allan did not explore this relationship further and more subtly since this is a rich dramatic situation and the script might have been made much more powerful than it is. W. O. Mitchell's little comedy "Out of the Mouths" has for its plot the question of what a baby's first word would be. It pokes pleasant fun

at the craze for betting—but the idea is too flimsy even for a half-hour script. His "The Black Bonspiel of Wullie MacCrimmon" is better comedy, a variation on the story of the man who bargained with the devil. It is in this writer's familiar "folksy" manner; the characters are stylized in a broadly comic way and the dialogue is colourful and extravagant, appealing in this case to those partial to Scottish dialects. Ronald Weston's "Sammy," about a misfit who eventually hangs himself, is reminiscent of many stories one has read, but the play is simply presented and it achieves a touching climax.

From Vancouver the CBC presented a varied series of half-hour plays, a few of which should be mentioned. In "The Picture and the Lily" Edward Rollins told a moving story about a man ruined by a series of tragic miscalculations. Unlike most radio plays this one seemed to have in it the germ of a dramatic idea that might have been developed more fully. Dick Diespecker's fantasy "One Spring Morning" attempts to show what might happen after the atomic cataclysm. It does not succeed in being more than a cartoon. "The Case of the Freudian Cookie," by Allan Sangster, is a light-hearted satire on private-eye stories, presented in the form of a dream. The stylistic mannerisms of these stories are amusingly, if rather repetitiously, burlesqued and the whole joke is refreshing.

W. O. Mitchell's series "Jake and the Kid" appears to have been popular and it has been praised a good deal for its "authentic" Western atmosphere and good-natured "folksy" humour. The weekly scripts are anecdotes concerning a group of rural characters and most particularly Jake Trumper, a hired man with an engaging personality. Possibly by now Jake belongs in a corner of whatever gallery of radio characters would include Vic and Sade, Amos and Andy, and others like them. Mr. Mitchell undoubtedly has made him seem real and "loveable." That only makes it a greater pity that he has not taken more pains to avoid the clichés of this type of serial show. Some of the scripts clearly indicate the pressure of deadlines; though the situations are often original, the development is more likely than not to be contrived and careless. Perhaps Mr. Mitchell will find time (and, if he isn't already bored by Jake, the impulse) to write a full-length play about him. Jake should be freed from the serial form.

Alan King's series of plays "Once over Lightly," also presented by the CBC, was, to judge by two samples ("Pygmalion and Galatea" and "The Recapture of Helen of Troy"), very pleasant radio entertainment. Mr. King always writes modestly and usually with quiet humour. He retold these old stories just as he promised—lightly.

SELECTED TITLES

PUBLISHED PLAYS. COWAN (J. B.), Number five Cheyne Row (Vancouver, Rose, Cowan and Latta, x, 128 pp.). DAVIES (ROBERTSON), At my heart's core (Toronto, Clarke Irwin, viii, 91 pp., $2 cloth, $1.50 paper). TAYLOR (S. A.), The happy time: a comedy of love; based on the stories by ROBERT FONTAINE (New York, Random House, 184 pp., $3).

PLAYS PRODUCED. ALLAN (ANDREW), Narrow passage (Toronto, New Play Society). CALLAGHAN (MORLEY), Going home (Toronto, New Play Society). COULTER (JOHN), Riel (Toronto, New Play Society). DALE (ERNEST) trans., Plautus, Rudens (Toronto, Ontario Classical Association, 1949). DAVIES (ROBERTSON), King Phoenix (Toronto, North Toronto Theatre Guild). DOYLE (WILLIAM). Days of grace (Ottawa, Canadian Repertory Theatre). GREEN (A. C.), Love story (Winnipeg, Winnipeg Teachers' Dramatic Society). HOOKE (H. M.), Time of grace (Kingston, Queen's Summer Theatre). MACMILLAN (NORMA), A crowded affair (New Westminster, B.C., 1949). TAYLOR (MARION), Rumplestiltskin (Ottawa, Junior Theatre of the Ottawa Drama League).

IV. SOCIAL STUDIES — A. BRADY

Notable in the social studies of the year is a group of closely related monographs within the general field of politics. Four volumes appear on those agrarian movements of revolt which occurred mainly in the West and issued first into agrarian parties and finally into the contemporary Co-operative Commonwealth Federation, the chief rival of the two traditional national parties. These studies of tension and change throughout the prairie region in the twenty-odd years after the First World War throw light, not merely upon party politics in the limited sense of the term, but upon the difficult operation and peculiar vicissitudes of federalism and indeed upon the whole federal tissue of Canadian society. They are: *The Third Force in Canada: The Co-operative Commonwealth Federation, 1932-1948,* by Dean E. McHenry; *Agrarian Socialism; The Coöperative Commonwealth Federation in Saskatchewan,* by S. M. Lipset; *The Progressive Party in Canada,* by W. L. Morton; and *Henry Wise Wood of Alberta,* by William Kirby Rolph. The first two are by American scholars and illustrate further the comment in last year's survey on the rich contribution which American scholarship is making to an understanding of Canadian life. In addition the publication of some of the other studies has been rendered possible by generous grants from American foundations to the Canadian Social Science Research Council and the Canadian Institute of International Affairs. It is not inappropriate in this context to pay tribute to this abundant American largess.

The Third Force in Canada is the more general and least specialized of the four books. In it the author, who is a professor in

the University of California, seeks in simple terms to describe and analyse the development of the C.C.F., which has been built partly on the pattern of the British Labour party, but adapted to the needs and aspirations of a North American community. He enthusiastically views it as a middle way between the extremes of reaction and revolution, testing "the compatibility of the politics of democracy and the economics of socialism." After a brief introductory chapter on origins, he proceeds in a clear and easy manner to describe the party's national and provincial structure, its links with trade unions and agrarian groups, its critics from the left and the right, its electoral fortunes, its parliamentary methods, its administrative record in Saskatchewan, its broad objectives, and its likely future.

More intensive and hence in certain respects more illuminating is the study by Dr. Lipset, who confines his careful investigations of the C.C.F. to the one province in which the party came to power. While the territory of his research is thus restricted, Dr. Lipset does not limit the depth of his inquiries or the range of his interpretation. The C.C.F. in Saskatchewan is for him primarily a phase of North American agrarian radicalism, perhaps the most conspicuous achievement of that radicalism, and why it has proved to be conspicuous he examines in detail. The farmers of this province, like those in the neighbouring United States, who in the past had constituted the most active army of Populism, earned their living by producing grain under harsh and difficult circumstances, and hence as a community they came to be closely knit by a powerful economic interest, expressed in co-operative societies and later in political parties. Thus they take their place in that long tradition of agrarian revolt from Shay's Rebellion and the Jeffersonian and Jacksonian movements, a tradition which was always rooted in the irritation of farmers at the control exercised over society by organized urban business. The socialism of the C.C.F. in Saskatchewan is the ripe fruit of long agrarian groping and aspiration, but Dr. Lipset also suggests reasons why its exponents falter. As a believer in a democratic socialism he has fears about the socialism, if not the democracy, of the experiment. But on this matter he does not dwell at length. He is mainly content to analyse and explain the basis for the Saskatchewan achievement, its character, and the forces which are likely to shape its course.

Professor W. L. Morton in *The Progressive Party in Canada* covers much of the same ground as Dr. Lipset, but the point of view and the emphasis are different and the territorial focus of interest is not Saskatchewan but the prairie region in general and to some little

extent (perhaps too little) Ontario. "The thesis of the study," remarks Professor Morton, "is that parliamentary, or cabinet government, with its necessary auxiliary of the legislative caucus, has imposed a heavy strain on the fragile structure of the national parties in the Canadian federal state." While this theme is central, light is shed upon other and related aspects of national politics. In pursuing his thesis it is necessary for the author to range widely over the major factors which were shaping Canadian democracy (and also sometimes hampering it) in the first three decades of the twentieth century, such as those peculiar circumstances which influenced the growth of the West and even those special irritants that disturbed French Canada. He presents a skilful study of the sundry forces which determined the Progressive party, including the divergent ideals within its own leadership which created its frustrations and shortened its life. On some points scholars will place a different emphasis and interpretation and draw different conclusions, but few are likely to deny the judicious quality of this work.

Supplementary to it but less comprehensive in research and less penetrating in interpretation is *Henry Wise Wood,* the biography of the most influential leader of the agrarian movement in Alberta. Born in Missouri, Wood migrated as an adult to a farm near Calgary, and with him brought some of the doctrines and all of the evangelical fervour which characterized the agrarian movement of the American west. For some fifteen years he held a dominant position in the United Farmers of Alberta, and created an organization which controlled for long both the political and the economic aspects of the farmers' revolt. Mr. Rolph traces the events of Wood's life, elucidates very briefly his ideas, describes the agrarian movement in Alberta to the end of the thirties, and explains some of the peculiar forces which operated in the province to create a movement different from that in the other provinces of the prairie region. The book is lucid and competent, but not always mature and critical. Conspicuously absent is a critical assessment of Wood's political ideas and their consequences, especially his repudiation of party and his controversial doctrine of group government. Despite such deficiencies, this monograph has value in throwing light upon that wing of opinion which most emphasized the sectionalism and class basis of agrarian action in the West.

Linked to these studies of agrarian revolt in the West is one devoted to a labour revolt, *The Winnipeg General Strike,* by Professor D. C. Masters. One may regret that this book does not embrace all

the broader aspects of the labour movement in western Canada, for there is an obvious place for such a study. But at any rate Professor Masters in his brief monograph throws light upon that movement in its genesis, for the Winnipeg strike of 1919 brought to a sharp focus many of its tensions and illustrated some of its immaturities. As the author shows, the labour movement in Winnipeg and the prairie country prior to 1914 was relatively quiet and solid, with no very special radical tendency. But the First World War, especially the economic and social situation at its conclusion, generated a stormy spirit of discontent which brought to leadership men with aggressive syndicalist ideas out of harmony with those of the orthodox trade unions in eastern Canada. Most of these leaders were British born and imbued with the doctrines of pre-war British socialism and industrial unionism. Thus the sharpest explosion in Canadian labour history occurred partly because of peculiar circumstances in a frontier city and partly because of Old World ideas (especially those of a militant syndicalism), which had come to influence union leaders with scant experience or sagacity. It may be added that little more experience and sagacity was exhibited on the side of the employers, and the government was not above criticism. These features of the event Professor Masters brings out in a judicious analysis, which among other things demonstrates that a general strike, by its own inner logic, must involve a challenge to government and hence provoke political intervention. The book adds a brief but useful chapter to the social history of the West.

A study in social history and politics is *The Woman Suffrage Movement in Canada* by Dr. Catherine L. Cleverdon, an American scholar of Canadian descent. Dr. Cleverdon traces the struggle for political equality between the sexes in Ontario, the Prairie Provinces, British Columbia, Ottawa, the Maritimes, and Quebec. She assesses the principal forces involved, and draws some, although no penetrating comparisons, with the movement in Britain and the United States. The study is no mere coldly academic exercise but a labour of love, a fact that explains an occasional peevish note when the author is discussing the views of opponents of woman suffrage in the past. Admittedly some of these views appear quaint today. As late as 1905 a premier of Ontario was arguing against the enfranchisement of women on the ground that it was the divine plan to have women in the home and not on the hustings. It is not our contemporary fashion to settle political issues by reference to divine plans, although

it does not follow that we exhibit any deeper wisdom in the plans we do invoke. Yet perhaps Dr. Stowe-Gullen, one of the staunch champions of Canadian feminism, had a point when she expressed her suspicion of any man who attempted to hide his own infirmities behind the Almighty.

Miscellaneous facts of social interest emerge in Dr. Cleverdon's study, some explicable and some not. Significantly the flamboyant and militant suffragette movement of England had no imitators in Canada although the more liberal statements of the British feminist cause inspired leaders in the Canadian provinces. The shaping influence of the frontier is illustrated in this as in so many other social movements. In the prairie country, woman suffrage was won earlier and with less struggle simply because the agrarian class in its public pressures and action required the full co-operation of the women. Thus, as early as 1911 and 1912, the farmers' associations in the West were endorsing equality in the suffrage, and already within their own organization fully recognized that equality. Their influence had no little effect in bringing about the triumph of the cause in the western provinces.

A political study of a different type is *Constitutional Amendment in Canada* by Paul Gérin-Lajoie, who is a member of the Quebec bar, a Rhodes Scholar, and a man steeped in the political traditions of his people. His book constitutes the most comprehensive investigation hitherto of the problems involved in amending the constitution. It is not without some faults. Originally conceived and written as a doctoral thesis at Oxford, it exhibits weaknesses often found in a thesis. In places it is prolix and repetitious, and the general argument would have gained something by being shortened and sharpened. Moreover it is heavily legal in substance, although the author at certain points in his analysis pays tribute to the political and moral aspects of the subject. It is doubtful whether he pays sufficient tribute. Nevertheless, whatever its few shortcomings, this is a valuable addition to constitutional studies, and should help to deepen Canadian political thinking upon them. In four main sections, embracing eleven chapters, he discusses the nature of the Canadian constitution, the manner in which past amendments were secured, the amending process today, and the proposals for a new amending machinery. The point of view throughout is that of a strict federalist, confident that in each province law and convention hold the key to constitutional amendment in those matters pertaining to its sovereignty

as a body politic. The concurrence of the provinces is essential in all amendments which affect them because of Privy Council decisions and those constitutional conventions which govern the relations between Canada and the United Kingdom. He puts the matter succinctly: "any proposed constitutional amendment lacking provincial acquiescence could only be enacted at Westminster, upon the assumed authority either of Westminster itself or of the federal Houses requesting its enactment. Both are denied." This claim pertains only to matters of provincial sovereignty, not to all matters within the British North America Act. He recognizes that within the Act are matters on which the federal Parliament is alone competent to decide, and the British North America (No. 2) Act, 1949, gives a legal sanction to what already had been established by constitutional practice.

Needless to add, in view of his legal interpretation and his belief in a strict federalism, his proposals for an amending process in the future are designed to protect the position of the provinces, their financial powers as well as their law-making authority. It is not necessary to describe these proposals, other than to remark that they involve a division of the constitution into several parts, with a different procedure of amendment for each. He admits that the implementing of such complex proposals implies a rigid rather than a flexible system of amendment, and this he defends as most suited to the realities of Canadian federalism. In all this, of course, there is the substance for much legal and political debate. But at any rate many will agree with him that the centralization of power in Ottawa is not the only solution, if indeed it is any solution, for the economic and social difficulties of the nation. There is abundant scope, not fully utilized, for concurrent legislation and administrative co-operation. He aptly remarks: "Federalism may be expensive, but it is the price to be paid to preserve—at least, not to disturb violently—the existing regional social orders in Canada. It seems to be the price to be paid to have a Canada at all."

Another informative volume of the year upon the structural and functional side of government is *The Canadian House of Commons: Representation* by Professor Norman Ward. This deals with such matters as the distribution of the constituencies, the qualifications and disqualification of members, the independence of Parliament, payment of members, the nominating and voting procedure in elections, the

voting lists, franchise, electoral corruption, controverted elections, and election expenses. The procedure throughout is to trace the history of these institutions from the early period of federalism to the present, enumerate their purposes, and note their shortcomings. The stress is inevitably on institutions rather than doctrine, and one of the author's few brief excursions into more theoretical matters, in chapter I, where he discusses the nature of representation, is much less satisfactory and less convincing than his more historical sections. Edmund Burke would certainly disapprove of some of the loose deductions here drawn from his stated ideas. But if theoretical analysis is not Professor Ward's forte, a cool and sensible spirit characterizes his examination of operating institutions, and his writing is clear and easy. He accomplished a task that needed to be done.

Political science of a different and much more difficult kind is illustrated in Lionel Gelber's *Reprieve from War,* described by the author as a manual for realists in confronting the issues of the contemporary international crisis. The general ideas are familiar to a reader of Mr. Gelber's earlier book, *Peace by Power* (1942), but they are re-adapted and applied to the situation of the present, especially to the sharp tensions between the East and the West, between Russia and the United States. Power determines peace as it determines war. Those in the liberal tradition who zealously seek peace only too frequently neglect the fact that the possession of power is its essential guarantee. Peace is only possible through power made responsible and directed to the end of peace. Men cannot ensure the reciprocation of goodwill merely by manifesting it themselves. Such is the underlying argument that is related in turn to the contemporary issues of Germany, the East-West schism, America's peculiar role, Britain and its empire, and the problem of consolidating political power in the West as a means of defence and economic advance. Mr. Gelber particularly emphasizes the problem of Germany, and fears that in handling it the English-speaking countries are committing their major post-war blunder. A policy that consolidates the Germans politically and economically is loaded with danger, for a strong Germany is almost certain to play off Russia against the West and cannot be relied upon in any future contests of power. He claims that the West is strongest against Russia when Germany is weakest, and hence the disunity of Germany should be a major goal of policy. There is much else that is challenging and debatable,

and, whether one accepts all the argument or not, *Reprieve from War* is one of the most provocative books recently written by a Canadian on international politics.

Three short histories of Canada published in the year illustrate the variety of interpretation now discernible in the writing of contemporary scholars. M. Jean Bruchési, public servant (Under Secretary and Deputy Registrar of the Province of Quebec), lawyer, historian, and man of letters, presents in *A History of Canada* an interpretation that reflects prevalent thinking among his French countrymen on the cultural and political problems of modern Canada. His book is not a conventional history. It is rather a study of the fundamental factors and realities in the life of Canada treated historically. Hence much more than the other two works it is a preface to current policies and politics. In the early chapters there is little to differentiate the treatment from that of historians in the English-speaking tradition, but with the topic of Confederation a fresh and significant emphasis appears. To M. Bruchési the British North America Act of 1867 had two defects laden with serious consequences for Canadian national unity: it did not make clear the rights of the French to preserve their language in other provinces than Quebec, and it left uncertain the position of sectarian schools in these provinces. Hence since 1867 the issues of language and sectarian schools have bedevilled Canadian politics, and impaired that sense of unity on which alone a strong nationhood can be built. These issues indeed, although M. Bruchési does not emphasize the point, helped to create the *nationalisme* of modern Quebec. He thinks that the men of 1867 meant well. They entered into a pact of honour, but unfortunately did not give it all the legal substance that was essential. "It is difficult," he writes, "to speak of equality of advantages and equality of sacrifices in a country where the spirit of co-operation, as it existed in 1867, does not inspire the majority of Canadians." This is not the place to appraise the argument, but only to indicate that it is presented in a challenging yet dispassionate manner; it will behoove thoughtful English-speaking Canadians to read it in order to understand ideas which exercise many of their French countrymen, especially the idea of a more truly bilingual Canada from ocean to ocean.

Far less provocative of controversy (indeed not likely to arouse more than a ripple of it) is Mr. G. P. deT. Glazebrook's *Short History of Canada*. This is a simple narrative, judicious, lucid, easy

in tempo, but reaching at times a quiet and convincing eloquence. It begins with a chapter on the Indians as the first Canadians and ends with a discussion of Canada as a world power. Some 82 of the 233 pages of text pertain to New France. The book deals only with the general lines of development, introducing just sufficient facts to support the broad framework. Hence it is appropriate, less for students in the annual stress and strain of cramming for examinations, than for adults, anxious for a calm survey of the principal forces which have shaped Canada's past and determined its present. Inevitably, as in all short histories, the reader may feel that the story is made too simple, that while the general trend is faithfully described, the facts irreconcilable with it are less adequately recognized. While it is broadly true that "the liberties of parliament, the non-partisan character of the speaker, the rules in expenditure of public funds" were carried over from Britain to Canada, what is not stated is that none of these institutions worked precisely in Canada as it did in Britain. A chapter, for example, could easily be written on how the Canadian system of parliamentary control over finance diverged sometimes significantly from the British. But we can hardly expect such a chapter in Mr. Glazebrook's short and distinguished history.

Professor Gerald Graham's *Canada* covers the same ground with another emphasis. It begins with "France in the New World" and ends with "The Future of a Medium Power." The difference in point of view is suggested by the author when he remarks that his special aim is "to approach Canadian history from outside rather than from within North America; to give as much weight to European as to continental or indigenous influences." Thus he brings into play his firm grasp of the factors which lay behind sea power and which he has fully discussed in his two scholarly monographs: *Sea Power and British North America, 1783-1820,* and *Empire of the North Atlantic* But he recognizes not merely the forces across and upon the sea, but the forces within the continent. "The presence of the United States on the borders of Canada," he remarks, "is the basic fact in Canadian history, and it continues to affect not only the domestic life of the Canadian people but their whole outlook on the world at large." This theme he succinctly and aptly illustrates. Internal developments, economic, constitutional, and political, receive their due assessment, and throughout his admirable survey, a lively temperament is ever breaking through the sedate mannerisms of the professional historian.

Two of these authors of short histories also published in the year significant treatises. Mr. Glazebrook's *History of Canadian External Relations* promptly takes its place as the sole satisfactory volume on the subject. The first part, embracing 287 out of 438 pages of text, was published as a separate volume in 1942. It traced to 1914 the long and tangled background of Canadian interest and participation in world affairs. The second part, hitherto unpublished, is concerned with the development of modern Canadian foreign policy from 1914 to the North Atlantic Treaty. The war of 1914 brought Canada into international relations as had no event in the past, quickened her aspirations for the status of nationhood, and introduced her leaders to the responsibilities of major foreign policy. Mr. Glazebrook traces these developments with the same easy and judicious temper and happy turn of phrase that characterize his short history. He exhibits scarcely more emotion than if he were concerned with analysing the internal politics of the planet Mars. His principal interest is in shedding light rather than in generating heat, and this is doubtless all to the good. While some will regard his judgments of men and policies as tepid, no one will deny that he makes the course of development more understandable. Foreign policy in the modern democratic state is always a projection of the thinking of politicians who have daily to grapple with what often appear to be the incorrigible facts of a domestic situation. It is commonly more influenced by a corps of experts than is internal policy, but the experts must ultimately yield to the moods and opinions prevalent in the state. This fact is amply illustrated in Mr. Glazebrook's study. He shows how in the period covered the domestic stage was inevitably the chief focus of interest of Canadian governments, and how for much of the time that interest fostered an extreme caution in foreign policy, precisely as the emergence of harsh and revolutionary events in the world, with their impact upon Canada, broke down that caution.

In his *Empire of the North Atlantic* Professor Graham treats with clarity and scholarship a more long-range aspect of Canada's position in the world. He shows with reference to the forces of sea power how Canada came to be what it is, and indeed how the present British Commonwealth came to exist. He illustrates the manner in which Britain acquired by 1805 a unique naval predominance, and continues his narrative to show more briefly the broad influences after that date of industrial changes, free trade, steam navigation, screw propellors, iron hulls, shell guns, submarine cable, and other technical

advances. This is not a history of Canadian affairs, but a history of certain ultimate determinants of these affairs. It is a work of erudition and insight, coupled with a clear and readable style, and we may perhaps regard it as standing first among the historical monographs of the year.

Three other volumes throw light upon Canadian external relations. The series sponsored by the Canadian Institute of International affairs on Canada and world affairs received the addition of two volumes: one by Dr. C. C. Lingard and the late Professor R. G. Trotter deals with the period from September, 1941 to May, 1944, and the other by Professor F. H. Soward with the last year of the war and the first year of the peace. These volumes provide a carefully documented survey of external relations in their respective periods. Inevitably in an era of war it is more than ever difficult to separate internal from external events, and considerable space in both books is devoted to the organization of the domestic economy and some of its peculiar embarrassments. Both volumes are invaluable sources of information for the history of the time. Different in character is *The Changing Commonwealth,* edited by Professor F. H. Soward. It is a report on the proceedings of the Fourth Unofficial Commonwealth Relations Conference, held at Bigwin Inn, Ontario, in the autumn of 1949. It embraces a skilful digest of the preparatory data papers, an analysis of discussions in the various round tables on salient aspects of the contemporary Commonwealth, a brief section on the conference in retrospect, and the speeches of its opening session. The Commonwealth is always a theme for endless debate. Unfortunately the opportunity for such debate between ordinary citizens from its member states is rare indeed, and in that fact dwells the special significance of the Bigwin conference. It expressed the current play of opinion on the issues of the time, and the present book is a successful attempt to convey something of that opinion to the broader public outside.

We may conclude with reference to a work of history remote from the Canadian scene, although in its later sections not without profound Canadian implications, *Empire and Communications* by Professor H. A. Innis. It reflects the carrying-on by Professor Innis of his deep interest in the media of communication that pervaded his earlier work, *Political Economy in the Modern State.* But unfortunately it is far from easy to define the precise objective of this book. Perhaps the most helpful lead is the remark in the introductory chapter that

the subject of communication "occupies a crucial position in the organization and administration of government and in turn of empires and of Western civilization." Most of the content in the six chapters is an elaboration of this broad comment, and is drawn from a wide range of reading in every subject that has any conceivable relation to communication, whether in the ancient civilizations within the valleys of the Nile and Euphrates or in our contemporary civilization. The broad sweep of the theme and the grandeur of the generalizations are stimulating, yet this is not Professor Innis's most successful or significant book. There is a lack of clarity in much of the analysis and in some of the essential concepts, including that of "empire" referred to in the title. It is overweighted with quotations and citations, some of which are less reconcilable with one another than they should be for the strict coherence of the volume as a whole. A number of the generalizations as phrased seem to oversimplify matters that in actual fact are extremely complex, and such an impression is unfortunate since Professor Innis commonly sees the vast complexity of social reality and the interplay of varied influences. But while it is easy perhaps to criticize an undertaking so ambitious, any criticism must not obscure the fact that scholars owe Professor Innis no small debt for making a bold attempt to explain a phenomenon as difficult as it is important.

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* The asterisk indicates that the author is not a Canadian but concerned with a Canadian subject.

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V. BIOGRAPHICAL, CRITICAL, AND MISCELLANEOUS WRITINGS — THE EDITOR AND OTHERS

This final section of the survey of English-Canadian letters is divided under sub-headings, with arabic numerals, to indicate the different areas represented and the reviewer who has had principal charge of the sub-section.

1. *Biography and Autobiography* — THE EDITOR

Two biographies of military leaders appeared this year: *Arthur Currie: The Biography of a Great Canadian* by Hugh M. Urquhart and *The Rise of Chingis Khan and His Conquest of North China* by H. Desmond Martin. I forgo the editorial responsibility of noting any further similarities or differences between these warriors as a means of connecting two separate reviews, the first by Professor Frank Underhill of the Department of History, the second by Professor L. C. Walmsley of the Department of East Asiatic Studies.

Sir Arthur Currie, who led the Canadian Corps through most of the last two years of the First World War, would seem to have been in every way a bigger man than any Canadian leader, military or political, who emerged in World War II. His career from the position of a not very successful real estate and insurance agent in Victoria to that of the triumphant leader of the Canadian attacks at Hill 70, Passchendaele, Amiens, and the Canal du Nord, ought to be a romantic and exciting one. But this biography demonstrates once more how difficult it is to make any English-Canadian exciting. The author brings out very clearly the qualities which lay behind Currie's success: his determination in fighting for his own conception

of how things ought to be done, his courage in disregarding temptations to appease political and military superiors, the meticulous care with which he organized the troops under his command and planned their battles. He is also frank about the stiffness and brusqueness of Currie's manners in his relations with men in the ranks. He tells a remarkable story about the continuous machinations of the Hughes faction against Currie from the time that Currie became Corps Commander, though evidently more light is still needed on the role of Lord Beaverbrook in all these intrigues ("virtually a dictator behind the scenes"). The chapters on the actual battles, though illustrated by some beautiful maps, are bound to be confusing to the ordinary lay reader who has not served in the armed forces himself. They might have been made more illuminating if less space had been given to the first gas attack at Ypres and more to the planning and execution of a manœuvre like the crossing of the Canal du Nord, which Currie himself considered the most brilliant exploit of the Corps. The last section of the book, on Currie as Principal of McGill, will confirm the suspicions entertained by all persons in the academic world as to the fundamental unimportance of university heads.

The Rise of Chingis Khan and His Conquest of North China by H. Desmond Martin is a careful and well-documented account of the rise of a poor Mongol nomad to the status of a world-famed conqueror. The first two chapters of the book, "The Portrait of a Conqueror" and "The Mongol Army," are particularly enlightening. They give a fine appraisal of the genius of the man and the background against which he was to achieve his remarkable success. This success depended first upon the character of the man himself: his insight and intelligence, his willingness to co-operate, his basic knowledge of what life required of men in his time, and his concern for the men under him; above all, upon his faith that he was divinely appointed to fulfil a great purpose, to dominate the world. His success also flowed out of his good fortune in being born at that particular time. His people were a nomad race, living in the saddle, expert with the bow in their normal life. They moved easily from place to place and took their herds with them wherever they went. Had Chingis lived in a later age of fire-arms the effectiveness of his fighting force would have been vastly curtailed. Also he lived at a time when history was undergoing a great cycle of imperial unification and regional autonomy. His dreams of world-wide domination fell naturally into the thought-forms of such an age.

Unfortunately for the average reader, the author, after the first two chapters, seems to lose sight of the over-all picture so that significant events become drowned in a multitude of detail. An almost week-by-week picture of Chingis' great campaigns is unrolled with the co-ordination and precision of a many-ringed circus. Three carefully prepared maps enable one to follow the steady progress of conquest; but the text is factual, and unfamiliar Mongolian and Chinese names of places and people add to the difficulty of reading.

One could wish that the author had included more of his own deductions and conclusions which such a study, undoubtedly requiring years of exacting research and plodding over old battle fields, must have stirred up in his mind. We are left somewhat confused on a number of issues: What after all was the driving force that impelled the Mongols to conquer China as well as western Asia? Was it fear, or lust for power, or promise of loot, or economic pressure? Or was it a sense of divine mission? This last seems to have weighed heavily in Chingis' thinking.

The book is well written and is excellently documented. It handles the conquests of Chingis Khan so thoroughly that one doubts if another such detailed study will be produced for years to come.

Three volumes of reminiscence and autobiography should be mentioned here: *As the World Wags On* by Arthur Ford, *I Kept My Powder Dry* by the Rev. John Coburn, and *Thy People, My People* by Elisabeth Hoemberg. The first two books are mainly collections of anecdotes and observations about people and events in the author's range of experience.

Mr. Ford's experience has been in journalism and politics, as a reporter in Winnipeg during the boom times early in the century, as a parliamentary correspondent in Ottawa before and during the First World War, and for the last thirty years as Editor of the *London Free Press*. During all this time he has managed to get about and to meet a great many notable people, not only in Canada and the United States, but on several occasions in Europe, and once, during the Second World War, in Australia. His book includes chapters of informal reminiscence and appraisal of the prime ministers since Sir Wilfrid Laurier; discussion of disputed public questions, such as the conscription issue which sharply divided the Cabinet and the country in 1944; a few vivid pictorial memories, as of Sir Robert Borden and other members running for their lives as smoke and fire swept through the corridors of the old parliament building that day in 1917; and

hundreds of stories, illustrative, explanatory, or just humorous about the great, the once-prominent, and the odd characters whom the author has known. Among the latter it is a pleasure to meet "the Winnipeg Liar," that imaginative vendor of tall tales to the American newspapers; Bob Edwards of the *Calgary Eye-Opener;* Ernest Cinq-Mars of *La Presse;* and Major Hughie Green who aspired, with the patronage of Sir Sam Hughes, to become "Fishmonger-general" of the Canadian Army. Mr. Ford is an entertaining story-teller and a shrewd and informed commentator on men and events. He is also singularly free from political prejudice: the friends of whom he writes with particular affection and respect include two Conservative prime ministers and the founder of the socialist party in Canada.

Mr. Coburn's experience has been of another kind: he was a Methodist minister in rural Ontario and in Toronto for twenty-five years, and then, for as long a time, an official of the United Church and a spokesman for the advocates of prohibition. Most of the stories in *I Kept my Powder Dry,* including those in the two chapters on "Bouts with John Barleycorn," derive from the early part of his career, over forty years ago, and several are from the previous generation. Mr. Coburn's memorable characters are not cabinet ministers or the journalists who gather about them, but persons of a different range: his father, also a clergyman, though he had been blind since childhood; the Rev. W. F. Ferrier, "one of the best of men," of the "Mulmur Circuit in the County of Dufferin," whose illustrated discourse on the "gaelic and the higher gaelic" was hard to understand, though his congregation was too polite to say so; John Dean, also of Mulmur, who managed to get his barn raised without providing whiskey for his helpers, an achievement hitherto unparalleled in that region; and those two Muskoka brothers, impoverished and dependent on one another for survival, who quarrelled and would have stubbornly ruined themselves, their families, and the local church—all because of a plug of tobacco. Mr. Coburn depicts with an engaging artlessness his scenes from Methodist clerical life in the Ontario of a by-gone age. His book will appeal particularly to readers with a similar background, especially, of course, those old enough to remember the end of the Victorian age in this province.

The third of these autobiographical works, *Thy People, My People,* is reviewed by Professor Cecil Lewis of Trinity College.

Frau Hoemberg, a Canadian by birth and a graduate of the University of Toronto, married a young lecturer in history at the

University of Münster a few months before the outbreak of war and has since lived in Germany. This rather shapeless book has been put together from their diaries and the letters they exchanged while he was serving as a military clerk at German headquarters in France and as a prisoner in American camps in France and Germany.

One feels sympathy with these highly intelligent and sensitive people, with their deep dislike of the Nazi system, as they try to keep alive their courage during the ordeal. But since they were writing for themselves, the book is uninformative on the very matters which might have given it some historical value: the conditions of life on the German home front and in the forces in France. It is almost all comment and speculation on the political situation and prospects, and on these matters they had only the knowledge available to the man in the street. They tell us that the German censorship of army mails was very lax. It must indeed have been so, for Herr Hoemberg's sympathy with his country's enemies must surely have caused him grave difficulties if it had been discovered. His psychology is strange. He frequently castigates himself for not offering active opposition to the German war effort, yet he speaks with a sneer of Frenchmen waiting for the Allies to liberate them.

Frau Hoemberg gives some account of her work as an interpreter for the Allied military government. It is strange that, for all her knowledge of the heart-breaking chaos which confronted the Allies, she should show so little respect for their achievements. It is clear enough that, in her judgment of Britain and Germany, she is not nearly so far "above the battle" as she seems to think.

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the prairie homesteads (Crystal City, Man., the author, Box 175, 134 pp., ill., $1.50). MARTIN (H. D.), The rise of Chingis Khan and his conquest of North China; introduction by *OWEN LATTIMORE, ed. by *ELEANOR LATTIMORE (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, xviii, 360 pp., $4.75). MARWICK (ALICE), The Honourable Frank Cochrane: a tribute; with a word of appreciation from G. W. YATES (Cochrane, the author, P.O. Box 489, 23 pp.). SCOTT (B. A.), Skate with me; drawings by PRANAS LAPE (New York and Toronto, Doubleday, 159 pp., ill., $4.95). URQUHART (H. M.), Arthur Currie: the biography of a great Canadian; with a foreword by *Field Marshal JAN CHRISTIAN SMUTS, C.H. (Toronto, Dent, xx, 363 pp., $5).

2. *Literary and Critical Studies* THE EDITOR AND OTHERS

Two volumes which belong in this sub-section are to be reviewed in a later number of the QUARTERLY; they are *Rhythm in the Novel* by E. K. Brown and *The Thought of C. S. Peirce* by Thomas A. Goudge. I am indebted to Professor Clarence Tracy of the University of Saskatchewan for the review which follows, of *The Infinite Moment and Other Essays in Robert Browning.*

In *The Infinite Moment,* Dr. William Raymond, our most active Browning scholar, and formerly Professor of English at Bishop's University, has republished a number of his essays on the work of that poet, along with a survey of Browning scholarship since 1910 which he prepared especially for the volume. The collection is a summing-up of a life's work. It includes three of his papers on *The Ring and the Book,* by means of which he upset received opinion on the genesis of that poem, and announced the discovery of a contemporary Italian manuscript containing an account of the Roman murder which, though not a source, is of great value to the student. His findings in these articles have been generally accepted by scholars. Other essays have possibly not met with the same general agreement; nevertheless, whenever Professor Raymond argues a controversial point, he does so with such clarity and skill that his case cannot be ignored. Through his essays on "Browning and Higher Criticism" and "Browning's Casuists" he had added much to our knowledge of Browning's intellectual and religious development and of its repercussions on his poetry.

Though one may question his wisdom in reprinting essays that have already lived useful lives in the journals, fortunately not all of Professor Raymond's belong to this class. It is a tribute to the vitality of his mind that the best of them are also the most recent. "Our Lady of Bellosguardo," for example, is a charming sketch of Isa Blagden, an American lady who was at the centre of the circle to which the

Brownings belonged in Florence, and with whom the bereaved poet corresponded regularly for years after his return to England. A great deal of research went into this essay, without marring the serene, pastel-like quality of its style.

The volume takes its title from the opening essay, which is also one of the more recent. It too has a freshness of style and outlook that testifies to the vigour of the writer's mind. Fittingly it deals with Browning as a whole and attempts some assessment of his achievement as a poet. Recognizing that the time for a definitive estimate has not yet come, and that his must be tentative, Professor Raymond concerns himself mainly with answering the notorious attacks made on Browning by Santayana and other more recent critics, such as Babbitt, Eliot, and Lucas. He contends that Browning's excellence is precisely that "verve and dash" which his antagonists despised as barbaric. He argues that the supreme passages in the poetry all derive from Browning's intuitive insights and from the latent powers within him that constantly, at least in his great period, broke through the forms and conventions of his own time. But, as aesthetic criticism, the essay is slightly disappointing, perhaps because Professor Raymond has deliberately, but rather strangely, left out of the reckoning certain elements essential for any satisfactory estimate of the whole Browning. One may understand his reasons for turning wearily away from the casuistical poems, though surely the intellectual bent of Browning's mind must enter into any definitive estimate. But it is harder to excuse the passing over of Browning's dramatic gift, for it was woven so intimately into the warp of his lyrism that an adequate account of the one can scarcely be given independently of the other. Yet it must be admitted that Professor Raymond does not pretend to give more than a tentative estimate, and that he wished, probably wisely, to draw critical attention back to what he has every right to consider the finest product of the poet's art.

Agrarian Age: *A Background for Wordsworth* by Professor Kenneth MacLean of this University is likewise made up of a group of essays, not centring on one author (in spite of the title) but on an economic and social movement, the agrarian revolution of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries which has been overlooked, for the most part, by the general student intent on the more sensational political and industrial revolutions of the age. Yet the agrarian revolution got under way first and was to have a powerful influence on both the social life and the literature of the period. It was induced

to a great extent by the scientific improvers of the land, crops, and breed of animals: Jethro Tull, Lord ("Turnip") Townshend, Arthur Young, Richard Watson, Bishop of Llandaff, whose ambition was "to be remembered as an improver of land and a planter of trees," and King ("Farmer") George III who toward the end of the century transformed 1,000 acres of Windsor Great Park into a "Norfolk Farm" and 400 into a "Flemish Farm." This scientific and fashionable rage for improvement soon increased both the productivity and the price of land, hastened the enclosure movement, made profitable agriculture increasingly an enterprise requiring large amounts of capital, and introduced social and economic changes and problems which provided themes for poets including Goldsmith, Crabbe, Blake, and Wordsworth. The first part of Mr. MacLean's book, more than half of it, consists of seven chapters on "The Agricultural Revolution: Poets, Peasants, and the Land." In the second part he contrasts the economic theories about agriculture of the French physiocrats and of Adam Smith. Finally, there is a chapter on "Wordsworth as Agrarian" in which our attention is focused on the condition of Cumberland and Westmorland in the poet's time and the effect on his thought and writings of the economic plight of the small proprietors, the decline of cottage industry, the enclosures, and the arrival of the rich and fashionable in the Lake Country.

Agrarian Age will undoubtedly be of value and interest to the student of eighteenth-century society, but I would refer here only to its general contribution to the study of romantic poetry. No one but a doctrinaire exponent of the "New Criticism" would deny that we need to know a great deal about a poem in addition to its bare text to understand it as fully as possible. We should look at it from several different directions. Many writers on the romantic movement have begun with the poems (plus essays, letters, etc.) and arrived at a view of country life and "nature" which has seemed characteristic of the poet and his age. Mr. MacLean conducts us in the opposite direction, from rural life and economics to the poems, and consequently we notice a great deal we have missed when travelling the other way. *The Old Cumberland Beggar* and *Michael,* for example, take on a much fuller poetic meaning when we know something of the economic state of the Lake Country at the time. And, needless to say, *Agrarian Age* is a background for more than Wordsworth. It is also gracefully and entertainingly written, and is illustrated with delightful contemporary woodcuts by Thomas Bewick.

The next book, *Goethe and Scott* by G. H. Needler, is reviewed by Professor Cecil Lewis of Trinity College.

"The richest, most skilful and most celebrated story-teller of his century," as Goethe called Scott, received his first impulse towards writing through his delight in the German poet's drama, *Götz von Berlichingen,* of which he published an English version in 1798. Professor Needler brings together much material on their personal and literary relations which has hitherto been difficult or impossible of access and offers a lively discussion of the questions involved. In the Appendix he prints Scott's free translations of some Goethe poems, including *Erlkönig,* and of two famous ballads by Bürger, *Leonore* and *Der wilde Jäger.* Scott's many borrowings of details from *Götz* and *Egmont, Werther,* and *Wilhelm Meister* are traced in both the metrical romances and the novels. It is quite clear that, in spite of his very sketchy knowledge of German, Scott continued throughout life to draw inspiration from his great contemporary.

Little has hitherto been said of Scott's possible influence upon Goethe. That Goethe as a critic rated Scott very high has never been doubted, but Professor Needler argues persuasively that it was *Kenilworth* which inspired Goethe in his middle seventies to begin seriously the oft-delayed Helena act of *Faust II* and thus led him on to the completion of his greatest work. Here Professor Needler breaks new ground. He correlates closely the known dates of Goethe's perusal of the novel and of his work upon his own poem and points to some really striking similarities in the substance. The approach of Helena to Faust's palace is shown to be a close parallel to Queen Elizabeth's reception by the Earl of Leicester. Goethe was so deeply interested that he went behind the novel to Scott's source, Gascoigne's *Princely Pleasures at the Court of Kenilworth.* The splendid tribute to Byron in the *Helena,* considered by many to be the finest ever paid to that poet, is thought by Professor Needler to have drawn some of its most striking phrases from Scott's eulogy in the *Edinburgh Weekly Journal.* An entry in Goethe's diary proves that he had read it.

Other famous men of letters who treasured the work of Goethe appear in these pages, Schiller, Lockhart, and Carlyle. We learn much about a great age when the English and the German mind were assuredly more in harmony than ever before or since. The author is to be congratulated on producing such a vigorous and stimulating book at a time when he has already lived beyond the Goethean span of years.

The Paradox of Oscar Wilde by George Woodcock, though first published in 1949, is mentioned in this survey because it was overlooked last year. It is intended to be "a really balanced judgment of Wilde's works" and to show "his significance in literature and social thought," as the author indicates at the beginning. Both the title and the organization of the book, however, suggest a somewhat different aim, the study of a paradoxical personality, partly in terms of his background. Four of the eleven chapters deal with persons who especially influenced him in his youth: his father, a famous Dublin surgeon and philanderer; his great-uncle, C. D. Maturin, author of *Melmoth the Wanderer,* that once popular Gothic tale of a moral rebel who had sold himself to Satan; and the two Oxford teachers whom he most admired in his undergraduate days, the founders of the new aestheticism, Ruskin and Pater. Three other chapters, as their titles suggest, concentrate on elements of paradox: "Paganism and Christianity," "The Aesthetic Clown and the Creative Critic," and "Playboy or Prophet." Mr. Woodcock is a practised and skilful writer, and greatly admires his subject. Although he admits Wilde's deficiencies as a critic and a playwright he is impatient with others who have remarked on these shortcomings, especially if they seem to think any the worse of Wilde because of the revelations of his trial. This is a very readable book but it hardly comes up to the author's expectations; the interesting and persuasive study of a paradoxical personality gets in the way of the "balanced judgment of Wilde's works," and the title of the last chapter, "The Contradictions Resolved" is, surely, not justified.

A few books whose editors are Canadian, recently were Canadian, or are living in Canada may be mentioned briefly. Professor Desmond Pacey of the University of New Brunswick has issued a new, revised, and slightly enlarged edition of *A Book of Canadian Stories,* to bring the selection, the introduction, and the notes up to date from 1947 to 1950. This is the only book of its kind and it will continue to be of great value to students of Canadian writing. It is gratifying to know that the editor and the publishers are concerned to prevent the book from becoming out-dated or out of print. Professor J. Max Patrick, now of the University of Florida, has edited W. H. Mallock's *The New Republic: or, Culture, Faith, and Philosophy in an English Country House* (1877), with a valuable critical and explanatory introduction, notes, and a bibliography of nearly one hundred items. In this spirited "platonic symposium" on the great

problems which harassed the Victorians, Mallock has brought together for an argumentative week-end a large and varied group of fictional characters who bear a marked resemblance to Ruskin, Pater, Pusey, Arnold, Jowett, Huxley, Tyndall, and other representative people less generally remembered. The conversation is vigorous, characteristic, and often witty, though Mallock is careful to see that the theological liberals and scoffers at supernaturalism don't get the best of any argument. My colleague, Professor Douglas Grant, whose war book *The Fuel of the Fire* is noticed at a later point in this survey, in Subsection 5, has also published within the year selections from two eighteenth-century masters: Pope, in the "Penguin Poets" and Sterne, in the new "Reynard Library." Both volumes are, in the first place, book-buyers' bargains: 200 pages of the best of Pope (except the *Dunciad*) for one and six, and 750 pages of Sterne, including his autobiographical *Memoirs, Tristram Shandy, A Sentimental Journey,* and over a hundred pages from the sermons and letters, handsomely printed and bound, for one guinea. Mr. Grant's extensive introduction on the development of Pope's mind and art, and his briefer introduction to the works of Sterne are both admirable prologues, preparing us to understand and enjoy what is to follow.

This year we include in the survey two works of translation: *Sonnets of Louise Labé,* translated by Professor Alta Lind Cook of Victoria College and *Seven One-Act Plays of Holberg* translated by Professor Henry Alexander of Queen's University. The following comments on the first of these works are by Professor W. E. Collin of the University of Western Ontario, on the second by Dr. H. N. Milnes of University College.

Louise Labé, a sixteenth-century French poet known as "la belle Cordière," Beautiful Wife of the Ropemaker, was celebrated for her beauty and learning. That a woman of her time should become versed in the ancient languages and speak Italian and Spanish is perhaps to be understood as a consequence of the great intellectual ferment which, moving north from Italy, penetrated the cosmopolitan city of Lyons where she lived. Louise Labé's work comprised a prose comedy, *Débat de la folie et de l'amour,* three elegies, and twenty-four sonnets. In this little book, a real gem of the printer's art, Miss Cook gives us the twenty-four sonnets with the English version opposite the French. Translation is not an easy art; the archaic French, the Latin brevity, do not always run neatly into English lines; but many of Miss

Cook's versions are perfect. Sometimes, indeed, she creates a new beauty. Such images as

> O darker destinies that haunt my ways,
> Where art thou loitering?
> Then doth my heart a deep entreaty sound:
> Those qualities that bring thee meed of fame,
> For healing let me pour
> The balm of ten more, gentle ones and kind,

are additions to the beauty of the original.

And what is the beauty of the original? It is the beauty of feminine passion in possession of Renaissance forms of the art of love. It is the beauty of lovers' meetings—ardour, tears, sighs, longings, loneliness, absence, disappointments, and passionate embraces—expressed in special imagery and myth: Venus, Cupid, Diana, combat and conquest, darkness and light, cold and heat, and cosmic harmonies enchased in the architecture of a Petrarchan sonnet. And I wondered, as I read Miss Cook's versions of these imperishable pieces of French art, if it were not possible to have a series of such translations.

Seven One-Act Plays by Holberg is the third selection of his comedies in the American-Scandinavian Foundation series, and the second prepared by Professor Alexander. Light, burlesque humour is provided in these seven short glimpses into the remote world of early eighteenth-century comedy with its stock types, such as the garrulous barber, the braggart soldier, the incipient cuckold, the nit-wit peasant, and the abducted slave-girl who turns out to be the family's long-lost daughter. Of course the motive power for the unpretentious actions is supplied by the ubiquitous and brainy servant, the touchstone of Holberg's satire. The flow of dialogue, easy and colloquial in the original, is impeded in translation by frequent intentional archaisms, such as "heark'ee," "i' faith," "zounds," and "bad cess to you."

Finally, I would mention two literary and critical periodicals that began publication in 1950: *Impressions,* edited by Myra Lazechko-Hass, in Winnipeg, and *The Critic,* edited by Nathan Cohen, in Toronto. The first, a quarterly "little magazine" containing poems, short stories, essays, and reviews, might be considered a junior rival of the *Northern Review. The Critic,* a monthly eight-page paper consisting of stimulating critical essays on current Canadian Art, Radio, Drama, Opera, Books (to cite the five sections in a recent number), is in a class by itself in this country. It is regrettable and ominous that the subscription rate has to be so high.

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NEW PERIODICALS. THE CRITIC (March, 1950); 15 issues a year; editor, NATHAN COHEN; 205 Ava Rd., Toronto; $5). IMPRESSION (1950), quarterly; editor, MYRA LAZECHKO-HASS; General Delivery, Baldur, Man.; $1 a year.

3. *Books on Religion* — W. S. McCULLOUGH

Hebrew Origins, by Professor T. J. Meek, was first published in 1936, and before it went out of print it had established itself as a standard book on its subject. The continued demand induced the

publishers to issue a second edition, and the author took this opportunity to revise his work thoroughly. His views remain substantially the same, though archaeological discoveries and new theories have necessitated numerous changes in the text. Thus the chronology of chapter I is altered in accordance with the Mari letters and the new dates for Hammurabi. Chapter II takes into account six codes of ancient law, instead of four. The chapter on prophecy notes, but with little sympathy, the recent trend which sees the prophets as cultic functionaries. Altogether it is a very useful revision, and the documentation is completely up to date. Professor Meek also contributed in 1950 to *Ancient Near Eastern Texts,* a work by twelve scholars, edited by J. B. Pritchard. Dr. Meek's share was a translation into English of various Mesopotamian legal texts, the best known of which is the Code of Hammurabi (1728-1686 B.C.).

God Has Spoken by the Rev. D. N. Freedman and the Rev. J. D. Smart is an introduction to the Old Testament for young people. It could serve equally well to introduce the Old Testament to any one who does not wish to be encumbered with the minutiae of learning. The authors keep their competent scholarship quietly in the background, and give their attention to the religious significance and value of Israel's literature. They have produced a praiseworthy book.

A volume of sermons and a book on preaching should also be mentioned. The Rev. S. C. Parker, a Presbyterian minister of Toronto (now deceased), has presented in *Jesus Stresses a Point* fourteen short studies of as many of Jesus' sayings, each of which commences with "Verily I say unto you." It is a readable and challenging book. *A Preacher's Primer,* by the Rev. David A. MacLennan (formerly of Toronto, and since 1949 at the Yale Divinity School), is a slim volume but it contains much wise counsel on preaching. The material is based on lectures given in July, 1946 to a ministerial conference at McCormick Theological Seminary, Chicago.

Let Go and Let God is written by A. C. Cliffe, an Anglican layman, who, after many years of formal connection with his church, suddenly had a striking religious experience, the essence of which was a vivid awareness of the mercy and providence of God. In this little book the author attempts to lead his readers into the same experience of "victorious living." His effort has few literary merits, the organization of the matter is poor, and the title is inept, but the writer's single-mindedness and sincerity are everywhere apparent.

Religious Beliefs of Youth, by M. G. Ross, is a study sponsored by the Y.M.C.A. in the United States. With the aid of an elaborate

questionnaire, a sample of the Y.M.C.A.'s youth constituency, living within 500 miles of New York City, was interviewed, the total sample comprising 1,590 males and 345 females, the ages being between 18 and 29. The results are presented in considerable detail, some conclusions are drawn, and some suggestions made. One finding is "that the larger goals of the religious life and the traditional resources of the religious life are of little interest to the youth included in this study" (p. 146), which can hardly be described as a very astonishing conclusion. The author lays stress on counselling and group therapy as methods of getting youth to tap more effectively the resources of religion. The book should be of great interest to all religious leaders.

In 1947 the United Church of Canada appointed a Commission on Culture, and three years later the Commission, whose chairman for the last two years was Professor J. F. Macdonald, presented its report to the Fourteenth General Council of the United Church, meeting in Toronto. It is a substantial one hundred-page document entitled, *The Church and the Secular World*. Its three sections are: (1) "Historical: The Origin and Development of Western Culture"; (2) "A Survey of Contemporary Culture"; (3) "Christianity and Culture." Such a report obviously covers a great deal of ground, but the Commission appears to have been wisely guided and well informed, and its findings should interest all who are concerned with the state of religion in the modern world.

The year 1950 was an anniversary occasion in various Canadian churches, as the following notices will indicate. *Our Heritage and Our Faith* is a popular and brief publication by the 75th Anniversary Committee of the Presbyterian Church in Canada. Part I, "Our Priceless Heritage," from the Rev. John McNab, is a sketchy account of Presbyterianism, first in Europe and later in Canada. The strife among the Canadian Presbyterians, which culminated in 1925 in the entry of the majority of them into the United Church of Canada, is seen through the eyes of a non-unionist. Part II, "The Essence of Our Faith," by the Rev. F. S. Mackenzie, is a simplified statement of what Presbyterians believe. Here the standpoint is that "our faith is essentially the common faith of all those who have any claim to be known as Christians at all. . . . Denominations indeed have their place in the Christian fellowship . . . but there is no place for *denominationalism,* which is quite a different thing."

The United Church of Canada has issued two small books to celebrate its twenty-fifth anniversary. One is by the Very Rev. G. C.

Pidgeon, and is entitled *The United Church of Canada: The Story of the Union.* No one perhaps is better fitted than the United Church's first moderator to present an account of the events which led up to the union of 1925, and as an ex-Presbyterian he handles this controversial subject with a commendable combination of knowledge, firmness, and charity. The second volume, *Growing with the Years,* is by the Rev. K. J. Beaton. It purports to be a concise survey of the United Church from 1925 to 1950, but it deals principally with the missionary activities of that church both in Canada and overseas.

The Church of England in Canada has been the theme of five commemorative studies: *The History of the Diocese of Niagara to 1950* from 1792, edited by T. E. Nichols; *Church in the Valley* (Christ Church, Port Stanley, Ont.), from 1812, by the Reverend H. R. Rokeby-Thomas; *The Story of 100 Years of the Church of St. John the Baptist, Norway* (Toronto), edited by Professor D. Hayne; *The Church of the Ascension, Hamilton, . . . , 1850-1950* by Mary H. Farmer; and *History of Cronyn Memorial Church, London, Ontario, 1873-1949,* by F. B. Ware. Three United Churches, all of Presbyterian background, are represented in similar booklets: *Banners Unfurled: The History of First United Church, Galt* (Ont.), 1824-1949, by A. W. Taylor; *Waweig United Church* (Waweig, N.B.), 1848-1948, by Mrs. A. Armstrong; and *The Story of Knox Church, Winnipeg, . . . , 1872-1947,* by the Rev. H. J. Robertson. One Presbyterian church has recorded its story in *The History of St. Andrew's Church, Barrie, Ontario, 1849-1949,* edited by the Rev. J. Ferguson. All of these writings represent a considerable amount of local research, and while their immediate appeal is in a sense parochial, they are in fact documents of great importance for the social and religious history of Canada.

CHECK-LIST OF TITLES

Aiton (Grace), History of St. Paul's United Church, Sussex, N.B. (Sussex, the Church, 1949, 51 pp.). Armstrong (Mrs. Allan), Waweig United Church through the years, 1848-1948 (Waweig, N.B., the Church, 1949, 36 pp., $1). Beaton (K. J.), Growing with the years (Toronto, Ryerson for the Twenty-fifth Anniversary, Committee of Direction, Committee on Missionary Education of the United Church of Canada, 120 pp., $1 cloth, 50c. paper). Carluccio (G. B.), The seven steps to spiritual perfection according to St. Gregory the Great (Series theologica, tomus 3; Ottawa, University of Ottawa Press, 1949, xv, 240 pp.). Church of England in Canada, Diocese of Niagara, The history of the Diocese of Niagara to 1950 A.D.; ed. by T. E. Nichols (Hamilton, Synod of Niagara, 67 Victoria Ave. S., iv, 98 pp., $1). Church of St. John the Baptist, Norway, Historical Committee, The

story of 100 years of the Church of St. John the Baptist, Norway (Toronto, the Church, 53 pp.). CLIFFE (A. E.), Lessons in living: practical faith in practice; rev. and enl. ed. (Toronto, Musson, 148 pp., $2); Let go and let God: steps in victorious living (Toronto, Musson, 192 pp., $2). FARMER (M. H.), The Church of the Ascension, Hamilton: a short history, 1850-1950 (Hamilton, Mrs. F. W. Gates, 38 Herkimer St., 83 pp., $1.25). FERGUSON (JAMES), The history of St. Andrew's Church, Barrie, Ontario, 1849-1949 (Barrie, Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1949, 44 pp.). FREEDMAN (D. N.) and SMART (J. D.), God has spoken: an introduction to the Old Testament for young people (Philadelphia, Westminster Press; Toronto, Ryerson, 1949, 268 pp., $2.50). MACLENNAN (D. A.), A preacher's primer (Toronto, Clarke Irwin, x, 113 pp., $1.50). MCNAB (JOHN) and MACKENZIE (F. S.), Our priceless heritage; The essence of our faith (Toronto, 75th Anniversary Committee of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, 63 St. George St., 127 pp., $1). MEEK (T. J.), Hebrew origins; rev. ed. (Toronto, University of Toronto Press—Saunders, xvi, 246 pp., $3.50). MYERS (A. J. W.) comp. and ed., Enriching worship (New York, Harpers; Toronto, Musson, 1949, xviii, 398 pp., $4). NICOL (J. L.) comp., Through the years with Knox: celebrating sixty-five years of service as a pastoral charge, 1885-1950, and the fiftieth anniversary of the opening of the first Knox Church, 1900-1950 (Saskatoon, Sask., Knox United Church, 60 pp., $1). PARKER (S. C.), Jesus stresses a point (Toronto, Thorn Press, 1949, 126 pp., $1.25). PIDGEON (G. C.), The United Church of Canada: the story of the Union (Toronto, Ryerson, iv, 107 pp., $1). ROBERTSON (H. J.), The story of Knox Church, Winnipeg: seventy-five years, 1872-1947 (Winnipeg, the Church, 1947, 48 pp.). ROKEBY-THOMAS (H. R.), Church in the valley (Port Stanley, Ont., Christ Church, 1949, 96 pp.). ROSS (M. G.), Religious beliefs of youth (New York, Association Press; Toronto, Welch, xx, 251 pp., $3.30). SCOTT (R. B. Y.), The literary structure of Isaiah's oracles (Studies in Old Testament prophecy; Edinburgh, T. & T. Clark). SMART (J. D.), A promise to keep (Philadelphia, Westminster Press; Toronto, Ryerson, 1949, 224 pp., $3). TAYLOR (A. W.), Banners unfurled: the history of First United Church, Galt, Canada, 1824-1949 (Galt, the author, R. R. 5, 1949, 60 pp.). UNITED CHURCH OF CANADA, BOARD OF EVANGELISM AND SOCIAL SERVICE, The Church and the secular world: a report of the Commission on Culture presented to the Fourteenth General Council of the United Church of Canada, Toronto, September, 1950 (Toronto, the Board, viii, 100 pp., 25c.). WARE (F. B.), History of Cronyn Memorial Church, London, Ontario, 1873-1949 (St. Thomas, Ont., Sutherland Press; London, the Church, xviii, 329 pp., $2).

4. *Books on Art*[1]

ANDREW BELL

Painting in Canada, the most advanced of our arts, is slowly acquiring its own vocabulary. During the past year, for example, there have been two important new accessions: *Canadian Art* by Graham McInnes, and *The Growth of Canadian Painting* by Donald W. Buchanan. The author in each case knows his subject intimately.

[1] *Flemish Artists of the Valois Courts by* Ruth Massey Tovell will be reviewed in a forthcoming issue. THE EDITOR.

Neither work seriously overlaps the other; rather they are happily complementary. Both books avoid the pitfalls of "talking down," as well as that fancy art jargon which makes almost unintelligible so much of the contemporary talk about painting.

But strangely neither title conveys with sufficient precision what is inside its jacket. The implication of the label "Canadian Art" is that this is a book which deals only with painting. "The Arts in Canada" would seem a much truer description, for though the substantial emphasis *is* on painting, there are, in addition, valuable sections on subjects as diverse as sculpture, architecture, industrial design, handicrafts, films, and art in the theatre. Three centuries are covered, so that in result the work is a highly acceptable ABC of our arts from the earliest colonial days. In short this thoughtful book is a good point of beginning for anyone concerned with learning what makes our arts "tick." Moreover, the choice of illustrations, and this must have been difficult, is perceptive and apposite. Indeed my only regret is that Mr. McInnes writes so well, for occasionally his facility seems to lead him into generalizations which might better have been omitted. Incidentally his *A Short History of Canadian Art,* published in 1939, is a forerunner. But it is no substitute. The later publication is so much a re-writing and enlargement as to constitute, for all real purposes, a new book.

"The Growth of Canadian Painting" suggests a comprehensive account of the development of painting in this country. That title also is not quite right: we anticipate an over-all history, whereas in fact Mr. Buchanan gives us a delineation (immeasurably the best, in my view) of the *achievement* of Canadian art. "Important Canadian Painting," impossibly pompous though that sounds, nonetheless expresses more clearly the burden of this publication, because this is a work which deals with forty Canadian painters, most of them still living, with the stress all along the line on the emergence of original forms of artistic expression. But this experimentation is still relatively recent, and Mr. Buchanan would be far too honest a man to claim at this stage that he was writing a "history." Rather the "feel" is of a series of very personal, yet detached essays, subtly interrelated so as to provide a focus on significant indigenous trends. Within this context the writer succeeds so well, that the purposes and contribution of these principal painters of ours take on a wholly new unity of perspective. Presumably there is no such thing as a definitive art book.

Nonetheless I venture the prediction that Mr. Buchanan's book will always illumine this period of our art with fresh light. The illustrations are better than in any other book on Canadian painting.

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ART DIRECTORS CLUB, TORONTO, Second annual of advertising and editorial art: reproductions of the second annual Art Directors Exhibition of advertising and editorial art, held at Eaton's Fine Art Galleries, Toronto, Canada, April 1950 (Toronto, Burns & MacEachern, 86 pp., $4). BUCHANAN (D. W.), The growth of Canadian painting; with a foreword by ERIC NEWTON (London and Toronto, Collins, 112 pp., $5). ESSEX SCHOOL ART UNIT, TORONTO, Picture making by children of average ability in the elementary schools of Ontario (Toronto, Ontario Department of Education and Toronto Board of Education, 58 pp.). *INVERARITY (R. B.), Art of the northwest coast Indians (Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press; Toronto, Oxford, xvi, 243 pp.). McINNES (GRAHAM), Canadian art (Toronto, Macmillan Co. of Canada, xii, 140 pp., $4). MOWAT (A. S.) comp., 200 years of art in Halifax: an exhibition prepared in honour of the bicentenary of the founding of the city of Halifax, N.S. 1749-1949 (Halifax, the compiler, Dalhousie University, 1949, 56 pp., ill.). NATIONAL GALLERY OF CANADA, Annual report of the Board of Trustees for the fiscal year 1948-9 (Ottawa, the Gallery, 19 pp., 14 plates); Arthur Lismer paintings, 1913-1949 (Ottawa, the Gallery, 35 pp., ill., 50c.); Canadian painting: an exhibition arranged by the National Gallery of Canada (Washington, National Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution; Ottawa, the Gallery, 56 pp., 50c.); Contemporary Canadian sculpture: an exhibition arranged in co-operation with the Sculptors Society of Canada (Ottawa, the Gallery, 11 pp., 15c.); Paintings from the Vollard collection (Ottawa, the Gallery, 24 pp., ill., 50c.); A portfolio of Canadian paintings (Ottawa, the Gallery, 23 plates). NATIVE ARTS OF THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST: from the Rasmussen Collection of the Portland Art Museum; introductory text by ROBERT TYLER DAVIS (Stanford art series; Stanford, Calif., Stanford University Press, xvi, 165 pp., $7.50). ROYAL ONTARIO MUSEUM OF ARCHAEOLOGY, Black-figure and red-figure Greek pottery (5 pp., 11 plates); Chinese pottery figurines (4 pp., 12 plates); Egyptian mummies (5 pp., 11 plates) (University of Toronto Press—Saunders, 50c. each). TOVELL (R. M.), Flemish artists of the Valois courts: a survey of the fourteenth- and early fifteenth-century development of book illumination and panel painting at the courts of the princes of the House of Valois (Toronto, University of Toronto Press—Saunders, xviii, 157 pp., 34 plates, $11).

5. *War Books* HUGH MACLEAN

The impact of modern war on a sensitive mind becomes increasingly difficult to record adequately as conflicts, occurring with increasing rapidity, grow steadily more mechanistic and impersonal. After the First World War only a handful of writers managed to communicate the continual struggle waged by some to assert their individuality within the military machine and to reject an utter submission to war's demands. Of British writers, Edmund Blunden perhaps best

succeeded. In *Undertones of War* he deliberately imposed a pastoral pattern upon scenes of violent discord; the "harmless young shepherd in a soldier's coat," moved meditatively through events with which he implicitly denied his identity, and, commenting on them in only the mildest tones, achieved a mood of tragic irony which had in it nothing of self-pity or hysteria. *The Fuel of the Fire* by Douglas Grant (who has been living in Canada for the last two years) is reminiscent of Blunden's book in some ways and curiously different in others. Studying at Oxford at the outbreak of the Second World War, Mr. Grant became a Marine Commando captain and fought in Sicily, at Salerno, and in Northwest Europe. The book, an account of these events, is a highly personal record. Full of sharply outlined and imaginative observation on things seen, it wheels always back to the author's mind and to reflections set in train by outward events, so that the impressment of a nature primarily contemplative into the bondage of military life is constantly kept before the reader. "While the Colonel was discussing his affairs, I went out to look at the church." A writer of considerably varied interests, Mr. Grant draws his imagery with taste and skill not only from architecture, but as well from music, painting, Italian and other literature, classical history. Islands off the Sicilian coast recall Cyclops and Ulysses; an army fighting battles of attrition at Caen reminds him of Prometheus chained to the rock, and a hastily flung camouflage net of Gyges' ring. But he is a soldier too: discipline, morale, and "the prickly virtues of courage and endeavour" have their own stern but invigorating charm, in the last analysis preferable to the siren song of comfort. This differentiates Mr. Grant's book from those of Blunden or Sassoon. "I was not anxious to go" sets the tone of Blunden's volume, and, though he is determined and uncomplaining, a note of mild astonishment, deepening now and again to shocked outrage, runs through his book. Mr. Grant's "It was better to act than to think when thought was an intangible and insidious enemy . . . it was better to step forward and anticipate the blow" suggests his more aggressive viewpoint, which accepts as a challenge the demands of grim necessity with a spirit at once fierce and stoical, reflecting the conditions of a world far removed from that of 1915. Blunden's courage, still romantic in essence, is frankly appalled by total war; the other's is flung, not rashly but bitterly, against horrors grown almost familiar in "peace" and made only a little more obvious by war. This book's style, impeccable and stark, ensures that high points

of the action described remain in the reader's memory; one feels on every page that the precise and apposite word has been employed, yet there is no sense of excessive effort. Taste, imagination, and emotional balance combine to make *The Fuel of the Fire* a fascinating and significant book.

Joseph Schull's *The Far Distant Ships,* a history of Canadian naval operations in the Second World War, is a splendid companion volume to Colonel Stacey's history of the Canadian Army. Mr. Schull, whose style is flexible and restrained, has written an altogether absorbing account of the development of Canada's navy from an inconsiderable force of fifteen vessels available at the war's outbreak to the fleet of nearly four hundred ships of all kinds "present for duty" on V-J day. The organization, built up slowly and not without growing pains, which brought about this expansion, and the developing responsibilities which accompanied the Navy's physical growth, are dealt with in detail by the author. Short-range convoy duties, the Canadian Navy's initial task, were soon supplemented by anti-submarine activity on a scale increasing in proportion to the rate of corvette production in Canada. Canadian ships made part of the naval force at Dieppe, helped to support the landings in North Africa, and became steadily more active in the Mediterranean. By March, 1943 Canada was able to accept full responsibility for all convoy work in the Northwest Atlantic, remarkable evidence of the speed and efficiency with which this country's naval forces were developed. This assumption of "full partnership" is rightly a climax in Mr. Schull's book; but his heart is with the fighting ships, and his book is never more engrossing than when he deals with individual corvette-submarine actions, or describes the desperate attempts of a convoy in mid-Atlantic to beat off German wolf-packs. His account of convoy SC-42, which lost sixteen ships in slightly over twenty-four hours off Greenland, is a sea epic. The author, again, though in the best naval tradition given less to exaggeration than understatement, occasionally reminds the reader of North Atlantic winter conditions, and these passages, one or two of which recall Conrad's *Typhoon,* effectively underline the physical hardships met and mastered by all ranks on the ships at sea. Though a useful list of all Canadian ships and their commanders is appended to the book, few individuals are mentioned: an exception is the only Canadian naval recipient of the Victoria Cross in the war, Lieutenant R. H. Gray, whose gallantry as a carrier pilot in Far Eastern waters earned him the award posthumously.

Photographs and numerous charts illustrate the volume, which is certainly in the front rank of Canadian service histories yet made available.

Two personal narratives of war and post-war action have some merit. *The Scarlet Dawn,* by the Rev. R. M. Hickey, describes the author's experiences as chaplain with the North Shore of New Brunswick Regiment. Padre Hickey is Irish and proud of it; his book indeed is characterized by a somewhat fulsome lyricism concerning Ireland and things Irish, and seems in mid-passage about to founder irrecoverably on the Blarney Stone. But his anecdotes, told engagingly and with point, keep things going in that part of the book which deals with the regiment's stay in England prior to D-Day. His account of "the scarlet dawn" of June 6, 1944, carries conviction and bears witness to his cool bearing in action, which earned him a Military Cross; the comments on later actions, naturally enough no doubt, seem anti-climactic and do not convey the sense of immediacy achieved momentarily by his description of the Normandy landing. The author's genial and understanding personality makes more impression, on the whole, than the events he describes. The detention of H.M.S. *Amethyst* by Communist Chinese on the Yangtse in mid-1949 and the sloop's subsequent escape are described by Lawrence Earl in *Yangtse Incident*. The obvious high spots of initial action and final break-out are well done, but the long weeks of waiting and inconclusive negotiation present a problem which the author has not solved with complete success.

Studies of two special aspects of war have appeared. *Scientists at War,* by Wilfrid Eggleston, is a survey of Canadian scientific activity in the last war, written for the layman. The whole field of Canadian science, from proximity fuses and radar to the production of milkweed rubber and the packaging of food for Britain, is taken under close examination, and described in terms which, while comprehensible to the average reader, manage to avoid the atomic-power-in-three-easy-lessons technique characteristic of *Life* magazine. All sorts of fascinating sidelights on the problems of war research emerge, such as the attempt to construct aircraft carriers from icebergs (Operation "Habakkuk") and the future potentialities of chemical warfare. One comment on the book's organization: the note of urgency informing its early pages, which deal with radar or atomic research, must inevitably be absent from the discussion of homelier items; accordingly the latter part of this volume, dealing with Canadian

dried egg (of the highest quality), seasick remedies, and the like, does not arouse much response. But the book serves a purpose by bringing home to a wide range of readers the real accomplishments of Canadian science.

Robert England's *Twenty Million World War Veterans* is a solidly documented and incisive study of the problems of rehabilitating and readjusting Canadian and American veterans after two wars. The progress made by Canada in this field is apparent in the author's contrast of conditions in 1919 and 1946; further, the Canadian re-establishment plans are shown to compare favourably with such arrangements elsewhere. Chapters deal with vocational training, land allocation, physical rehabilitation, and the problems of mental adjustment. University training, which Mr. England considers "the most amazing and significant of all post-war rehabilitation enterprises," is discussed in a particularly careful and detailed section. Generally sympathetic to the veterans, the author appreciates the importance of a problem steadily emerging as the war recedes, the over-extension of veterans'-aid programmes and the insistence by some groups on the retention of these programmes in the economy long after the need for them on any large scale has passed. Rehabilitation implies the reassumption of duties as well as the enjoyment of rights. Mr. England's conclusion reminds his readers of this: "Veterans have a duty to ensure that their organizations develop a public conscience and exercise restraint and statesmanship in their demands and policies."

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Earl (Lawrence), Yangtse incident: the story of H.M.S. Amethyst, April 20, 1949, to July 31, 1949; with a foreword by *Commander J. S. Kerans, D.S.O., R.N. (London, Harrap; Toronto, Clarke Irwin, 199 pp., $2.50). Eggleston (Wilfrid), Scientists at war (Toronto, Oxford, x, 291 pp., $3.50). England (Robert), Twenty million World War veterans (Toronto, Oxford, viii, 227 pp., $3). Grant (Douglas), The fuel of the fire (London, Cresset Press; Toronto, Ambassador Books, 236 pp., $2.50). Hickey (R. M.), The scarlet dawn (Campbellton, N.B., Tribune Publishers; Montreal, Palm Publishers, 1949, iv, 277 pp., $3). Londerville (J. D.), The Pay Services of the Canadian Army overseas in the war of 1939-45 (Ottawa, Runge Press for the Royal Canadian Army Pay Corps Association, 315 pp., $4.50). Ross (R. M.), The history of the 1st Battalion Cameron Highlanders of Ottawa (MG); with a foreword by Colonel Cameron M. Edwards (Ottawa, Runge Press, 96, viii pp.). Schull (Joseph), The far distant ships: an official account of Canadian naval operations in the Second World War (Ottawa, King's Printer, xx, 515 pp., $3).

6. *Canada: The Land and the People* J. M. S. CARELESS

The books of the past year that fall within this category include reference works, regional histories, university memorial volumes, and books on ski-ing, fishing, mountain-climbing, and folk songs. Under the circumstances, generalizations do not come easily. Two might still be hazarded: first, that although there is greater variety this year in the books on the land and the people there are not as many good regional studies as in the year preceding; second, that in the period at present under review much of the most interesting regional writing deals with the Canadian West.

Two new volumes in the "Rivers of America" series examine the greatest waterways of the plains and the mountain West, *The Saskatchewan* and *The Fraser*. *The Saskatchewan,* by Mary Wilkins Campbell, has a sweep as wide as the prairies in treating the river that "drains the Rocky Mountains into the Atlantic Ocean," and the people that have lived beside it. The first half of the book, on the fur-trade era, deals more directly with the Saskatchewan, since it was then the main highway through the empty plains. The river itself declines in significance as the age of settlement begins and as the railway takes over its task of transportation. Yet still it plays a major part in prairie growth, whether to frustrate or to encourage. The spring floods and summer shoals of the Saskatchewan defeat the steamboat; its waters in a trough cut deep into the plains mock drought-stricken farms above. But in these waters lies the hope of irrigation, while along the river's banks in its two-thousand-mile course a varied and distinctive life has developed. Such is the theme of *The Saskatchewan*. One might wish that, given this theme, the author had expressed it more forcefully. This is not really a powerful book. Yet it is obviously written with devoted care for the subject, and lucid as it is, remains a useful and handsome addition to Mrs. Campbell's previous writing on the prairies.

The Fraser, by Bruce Hutchison, is a more powerful effort. Here the skill of a first-ranking journalist has been combined with a novelist's imagination and an ardent British Columbian's knowledge of his river. As a result the significance of the Fraser, which has meant for Canada in the West something of what the St. Lawrence has meant in the East, has never been better portrayed. The course of the Fraser, piercing the western mountain walls, provides the chief avenue of communication between eastern Canada and the Pacific

coast. Yet the river finds that course through the massive barrier only after a tortuous and furious struggle. In his pictures of the black Fraser canyons Mr. Hutchison vividly shows the violence of the struggle. He develops his narrative around it, from the dangerous river passage of the first explorers to the tragic ventures of the Overlanders of 1862 and after. The Cariboo gold rush, "Hanging Judge Begbie," the railways, the salmon, the fishing: all the colourful variety of the river's past and present is deftly paraded. But the final impression is the timeless violence of the Fraser, beside which man is "the fragment of a passing dream." A forceful book, indeed. It is to be regretted, however, that the rather flat illustrations do not convey the same sense of the river's turbulent strength.

In contrast to *The Fraser, Measure of the Year* by Roderick Haig-Brown deals with country life on Vancouver Island in a mood of quiet reflection. It chronicles the changing seasons as they affect the author and his family in the seemingly idyllic woodland surroundings of Campbell River. Its sensitive and precise observations on the natural setting, its birds, animals, trees, and flowers, are interspersed with informal little essays on a host of subjects: forest conservation, hunting and fishing, individual liberty, the amateur spirit, the making of a library. There are personal reminiscences as well, including a thoughtful and gently humorous account of the author's role as a country magistrate. This is but one of his varied occupations; he has also managed to write several volumes on the British Columbian scene, become an authority on West Coast angling, and attend to the ordinary daily duties of the countryman's life. Though his book rambles it does so easily and naturally, in keeping with a cultivated and reflective mind. Mr. Haig-Brown, one feels, would be a pleasant person to talk to. He would also seem to be something of an idealist. And while this can hardly be termed a fault, it does perhaps reflect in his book to the degree that the reader wonders how much romanticism entered into the scales when the author weighed out his "measure of the year." At any rate, this remains a fresh and charming study, albeit a rather rose-coloured one.

Again a very different type of work is Don Munday's *The Unknown Mountain,* a copy of which was not available for comment earlier. It tells of a series of exploratory mountaineering expeditions in the Coast Range, between 1926 and 1936, which discovered Mount Waddington, the highest peak in British Columbia. It was long believed that the greatest peaks in Canada's western ranges lay in

the Rockies and that the Coast Range held nothing over 10,000 feet. However, while the Rockies proved to have no summit over 13,000 feet, Mr. Munday and his wife revealed that within 175 miles of Vancouver, an unknown mountain soared above the 13,000-foot mark. The story of how the Mundays first caught sight of the realm of "Mystery Mountain," far off, through a cloud rift, from a mountain slope on Vancouver Island, how they tracked it down from a northern fiord, and approached it through tangled undergrowth, over glaciers, and up crags high above the timber line, is, to speak plainly, a fascinating adventure yarn. The excellent photographs of the unexplored mountain terrain add to the fascination. The frontispiece, the summit of Mount Waddington, is worth a shudder in itself from those who appreciate the thrills and skills of mountain-climbing but prefer to know them second-hand.

The great northern reaches of Canada are the subject of a book, published in 1949, which reached us in 1950. Mrs. Tom Manning in *A Summer on Hudson Bay* describes the work which she and her husband did in the summer of 1946 as members of a Geological Survey party engaged in fixing a series of land-survey points for use in the large-scale aerial mapping of the sub-Arctic regions. They travelled both in R.C.A.F. aircraft and in power-driven "Peterhead" boats manned by Eskimo crews. Mrs. Manning writes in clear but matter-of-fact style of a northern realm she has already come to know from previous expeditions. It might be noted that Nicholas Polunin in his *Arctic Unfolding* of last year, talked of the Mannings, whom he encountered on his own airborne northern travels. Mrs. Manning returns the favour to Mr. Polunin this year. Perhaps this calls for the comment, "It's a small world," when Arctic authorities now meet so freely in the northern wastes.

A book which deals with the nearer North is Alice Marwick's *Northland Post*. This is a history of Cochrane, Ontario, from its foundation in 1908 at what was to be the junction point of the Temiskaming and Northern Ontario Railway and the National Transcontinental, "a spot 250 miles from everywhere." It deals with the birth of a northern town, amid the stumps and slash of the logged-over forest. It tells of disastrous forest fires that wiped the town out three times, of optimistic settlers, and fabulous land auctions, of rapid booms and long depressions. In so doing *Northland Post* expresses all the "boosting" enthusiasm of a pioneer community, and it is written with a gusto that overwhelms the reader in exclamation

points. Equally, however, Mrs. Marwick's book portrays the pride and sure strength of the people who built their town despite fire, epidemics, and depression. It is an honest book, full of zeal for the Northland. Without pretence at any formal style, it is clear, colourful, and well sprinkled with anecdotes. An Indian's remark (so claimed) on changeable Cochrane weather is perhaps worth repeating here: " 'Cochrane weather—no good. What we want is rainproof, fur-lined straw hat.' "

Southern Ontario, in its own pioneer era, is the scene of *A Gentlewoman in Upper Canada,* the journals of Anne Langton, edited by H. H. Langton. Anne and her parents followed her brother John to Canada in 1837. They settled on Sturgeon Lake near Fenelon Falls, where John had established himself a few years earlier. Here, Anne periodically kept journals which were sent back to relatives in England. Her records provide a lively and detailed account of the ordinary round of pioneer life, a century-old "measure of the year," although she and her family were not ordinary pioneers but members of a small but significant group in early Upper Canada, the transplanted gentry. Anne Langton's journals thus compare with the writings of two other literary gentlewomen of her day in Canada, Mrs. Moody and Mrs. Jameson. Her records were not intended for the public eye, but they are no less interesting—if rather more cheerful than Mrs. Moody's. Anne, in short, seems to have been graced with a saving sense of humour. She writes as a clear-sighted, intelligent woman, who well knows the isolation and limitations of her life in the new land but can find beauty about her and contentment with her family. This is actually one of the best contributions of the past year, even though its author has been rather delayed in publication.

A work on the art, science, and philosophy of angling makes the transition from Ontario to Quebec. David V. Reddick's *Fishing is a Cinch* is a better book than its vainglorious name implies. It is at least entertaining to the non-angler, and it should be a golden treasury to the devotee, ranging as it does from fishing techniques, through fly dopes and lures, to cleaning and cooking the confidently expected prizes. Mr. Reddick has widely fished the waters of Ontario and Quebec and writes lightly and easily out of the sum of his experience. Another devotee deals with a winter Canadian avocation: "sport" or "pastime" will not do for H. Percy Douglas's *My Ski-ing Years.* This little book, written by the founder of the Canadian Amateur Ski Association, a pioneer of the art in the Montreal area,

is the first history of ski-ing in Canada. While it has no great literary claims, a specialized audience will find it useful, and the author's keen feeling for skis and powder snow on sunny Laurentian slopes at times illuminates his text.

A Quebec travel book with a difference is *We Fell in Love with Quebec* by an American couple, Sidney W. Dean and Marguerite M. Marshall. The difference is that the authors approach the scenery and people of French Canada by boat, sailing the St. Lawrence in a small cabin cruiser. They also make excursions by land, but their chief new views of the province come from their venturesome cruises down the great river to Gaspé or along the lesser known north shore to the open Gulf. They sketch what they see with sympathy and affection. The book, however, rather belongs in the wide-eyed "old-world-charm" school of the tourist handbook on Quebec. Quite understandably, it sees this Canadian region from outside, and though the angle of vision is somewhat different the result is not particularly penetrating. Furthermore, the coy third-person references to "the Skipper" and "the Mate" grow a little tiresome.

Three other books are about the Quebec region but of another character completely. They are histories of prominent institutions in the English-speaking portion of the province. The first, *Bishop's University: The First Hundred Years,* is by D. C. Masters, a well-known Canadian historian, and himself a Professor of History at Bishop's. He tells his story with clarity and trained precision, although without the academic paraphernalia of references. It is a useful contribution in an important field, the history of our Canadian universities. Yet it is very much a narrative, with little in the way of assessment, for example, of the role that small denominational colleges like Bishop's have played in Canadian education. And the last ninety pages, which simply contain a list of graduates year by year, will appeal to few beyond the University's alumni. This list begins by noting that "the real significance of a university is in the lives of the graduates," but while each career is briefly recorded, there are no comments on their lives and careers; no estimate, in brief, of their significance.

The History of the High School of Montreal, by E. I. Rexford, I. Gammell, and A. R. McBain, is a valuable account of the growth of another important educational institution. This lacks the firm organization of Professor Masters' book, and many of its narrative

details will not interest a wide audience. Nevertheless, it is no small accomplishment that the history of a prominent Canadian school should be presented on such a scale. The *History of the Montreal General Hospital,* by H. E. MacDermot, Editor of the *Canadian Medical Association Journal,* is still another valuable institutional record. Too often it is written almost as a series of notes, lacking in continuity, and the widely spaced paragraphs minister to this impression. Yet the material it contains is excellent. It includes effective quotations from hospital records, old diet charts—prescribing mostly bread, porridge, and stew—and interesting accounts of early diagnoses and treatments. And the work of the hospital in the days of the Irish famine and the great emigrant epidemics makes clear that much of its history is the history of Canada itself.

New Brunswick this year is represented by a volume of educational history, *The University of New Brunswick Memorial Volume,* edited by A. G. Bailey, published on the occasion of the hundred-and-fiftieth anniversary of the University's first charter of incorporation. As this is a co-operative volume it lacks the unity of Professor Masters' work on Bishop's, but it is well planned and it contains a number of excellent chapters on the history of the University and the growth of its faculties, as well as two on its humanist and scientific traditions. In general, the life and achievements of the University of New Brunswick are competently set forth. It is not as attractive in format, however, as the work by Masters.

Nova Scotia is dealt with this year in a superior kind of travel book, one by a native, a noted Nova Scotian writer. *This is Nova Scotia,* by Will R. Bird, has enough of the colourful and picturesque to suit any tourist—in fact, it is the report of a tour by road around the province—but it also has a wholly authentic flavour. Here is the green charm of Nova Scotia's valleys, the gaunt grey rock of her Atlantic coasts, the heights of Cape Breton sweeping to the sea and the gentler shores of Northumberland Strait. And here, above all, are the people of Nova Scotia. Their history, their legends, and their conversation are woven into the author's own personal observations as he makes his way through each section of the province. A series of admirable photographs catch the mood and setting of the sections he describes, enhancing this very attractive regional study. It might, moreover, serve as a useful companion volume for *Traditional Songs from Nova Scotia,* by Helen Creighton and Doreen H. Senior, which deals with the folk lyrics and ballads of the people described by Mr.

Bird. This collection of words and music of one hundred and thirty-eight songs, some of remarkable age, is the fruit of long and careful investigation. It is handsomely published, as it deserves.

Newfoundland is represented by *Newfoundland: 10th Province of Canada,* by John Parker, M.P., who was Parliamentary Secretary for the Dominions in the United Kingdom in 1945-6 and was in charge of Newfoundland affairs, when the island was still under commission government. In his book Mr. Parker pursues an interest in Newfoundland developed at that time. He makes a survey of the island, past and present, together with suggestions for its future development. A handy little compendium is the result, clear, well rounded, and informative. It is somewhat surprising, however, to find that the map attached at the end of the volume is a regular Imperial Oil road map of Newfoundland. Another work on the island is the *Newfoundland Supplement* to the *Encyclopedia of Canada,* edited by Robert H. Blackburn. It is a reference volume that maintains the high standards of the parent encyclopaedia in adding to it a considerable body of well-chosen information on the oldest British colony and newest Canadian province.

The two books that remain to be mentioned are of a general, not a regional character. The first is C. W. Jefferys' concluding volume in *The Picture Gallery of Canadian History.* Volume III, from 1830 to 1890, continues the compilation of Mr. Jefferys' historical illustrations, to which are added some photographs and a few sketches or paintings by other artists. But by and large it is a Jefferys collection: sketches of dramatic episodes in Canadian history —some of them well remembered from school texts—of famous men, of buildings large and small, sailing ships, early locomotives, clothes, stoves, and butter churns. Nothing is too large or small. The artist freely ranges into political, economic, and social history and presents it visually; he adds another dimension to Canada's history. His book has not much order, but that is due to the very wealth of material included. It is a monument to a man who has successfully combined the artist and historian to breathe new life into the Canadian past.

The last work to be considered is the volume *Canada* in the United Nations Series, edited by George W. Brown. This series, produced by the University of California Press, is designed to provide scholarly yet concise introductions to the various member-states of the United Nations. The *Canada* volume, jointly produced by the University of California and the University of Toronto Press, ably

fulfils its purpose. It is, in its own fashion, an encyclopaedia of Canada, composed by the co-operative effort of some of the country's leading scholars. In six parts it deals with the Canadian setting, the historical background, the economy, political and constitutional institutions, social and cultural patterns, and external relations. Within these parts are a number of well-constructed essays, each packed with information in short space, yet all fitted to the same standards. This, no doubt, is largely to the editor's credit. He is to be congratulated on the manner in which the chapters by twenty-six different authors have been brought together. This book, indeed, virtually sums up the work of an era in Canadian social science and related studies. It is the latest authoritative guide to the land and the people, and, as such, makes a fitting conclusion to the books in this section.

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in the township (Goderich, Ont., Clerk of the Township of Colborne, R. R. no. 5, 27 pp., 75c.). CONQUEST, SASK., HOMEMAKERS CLUB, PIONEER HISTORY COMMITTEE, This Conquest of ours, 1905-1948 (Conquest, the Club, 1949, 51 pp., $1.25). CREIGHTON (HELEN) and SENIOR (D. H.), collectors, Traditional songs from Nova Scotia (Toronto, Ryerson, xvi, 284 pp., $6.50). *DEAN (S. W.) and *MARSHALL (M. M.), We fell in love with Quebec: a book of cities, shrines, villages, rivers, mountains, and people (Philadelphia, Macrae Smith; Toronto, Ryerson, 272 pp., $4.25). DICKIE (DONALDA), The great adventure: an illustrated history of Canada for young Canadians; ill. by LLOYD SCOTT (Toronto, Dent, xviii, 469 pp., $3). DOUGLAS (H. P.), My ski-ing years: the story of the start and development of competitive ski-ing in Canada; ill. by JACQUES GAGNIER (Montreal, Whitcombe & Gilmour, 126 pp., $2). ESSA, TOWNSHIP OF, A century of progress: the centennial review of the Township of Essa, 1850-1950: anniversary ceremonies, Community Park, Angus, Ontario, July 1 and 2, 1950; ed. by J. J. E. MCCAGUE (Thornton, Ont., the Township, c/o Norman Coxworth, Clerk and Assessor, unpaged, 55c.). FLINT (M. S.), Operation Canon (Turner of the Arctic) (London, Bible Churchmen's Missionary Society, 1949, x, 86 pp.). HAIG-BROWN (RODERICK), Measure of the year (Toronto, Collins, viii, 279 pp., $3.50). HARPER (RUSSELL), The early history of Haldimand County (Caledonia, Ont., Sachem Print, 78 pp., $1). HARVIE (F. W.) ed., Town of Thorold centennial 1850-1950 (Thorold, the Town, 128 pp.). HISTORICAL AND SCIENTIFIC SOCIETY OF MANITOBA, Papers; Series III, no. 5; ed. by J. A. JACKSON and W. L. MORTON (Winnipeg, the Society, room 251, Legislative Bldg., 82 pp.). HOLMAN (C. E.), Our island story (Sackville, N.B., Tribune Press, 119 pp., $1.25). HUTCHISON (BRUCE), The Fraser; ill. by RICHARD BENNETT (Rivers of America; Toronto, Clarke Irwin, xii, 368 pp., $4.50). THE IMPERIAL ORDER DAUGHTERS OF THE EMPIRE, Golden Jubilee, 1900-1950 (Toronto, the Order, xiv, 141 pp.). JEFFERYS (C. W.) comp., A catalogue of the Sigmund Samuel Collection, Canadiana and Americana (Toronto, Ryerson, 1948, xxxii, 180 pp., ill., $5); assisted by MCLEAN (T. W.), The picture gallery of Canadian history, vol. 3: 1830 to 1890 (Toronto, Ryerson, xxiv, 252 pp., $2.75). KERR (W. B.), From Scotland to Huron: a history of the Kerr family (Seaforth, Ont., Huron Expositor, 1949, iv, 54 pp., $2). LANGTON (H. H.) ed., A gentlewoman in Upper Canada: the journals of Anne Langton (Toronto, Clarke Irwin, xvi, 249 pp., $3). LYONS (C. P.), Milestones on the mighty Fraser (Toronto and Vancouver, Dent, xxxvi, 157 pp., $3.50). MACDERMOT (H. E.), A history of the Montreal General Hospital (Montreal, the Hospital, xiv, 135 pp., $2.50). MCKELVIE (B. A.), Tales of conflict (Vancouver, *Vancouver Daily Province*, 1949, x, 99 pp.). MACKENZIE (JOHN and MARJORIE), Ontario in your car (Toronto, Clarke Irwin, xviii, 291 pp., $2.50). MANNING (Mrs. T.), A summer on Hudson Bay; with an appendix on the birds of North-Western Ungava by T. H. MANNING (London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1949, 224 pp., $3). MARKHAM TOWNSHIP, HISTORICAL COMMITTEE, Historical sketch of Markham Township, 1793-1950: centennial celebration of municipal government, 1850-1950 (Unionville, Ont., Municipal Office for Markham Township, 106 pp., $1). MARSH (E. J.), History of Union Lodge no. 7, A.F. & A.M., Grimsby, Ont.: the Lodge at the Forty Mile Creek (Grimsby, the Lodge, 1949, 60 pp.). MARWICK (ALICE), Northland post (Cochrane, the author, P.O. Box 489, x, 342 pp., $3 cloth, $2 paper). MASTERS (D. C.), Bishop's

University: the first hundred years; with a foreword by Principal A. R. JEWITT (Toronto, Clarke Irwin; Sherbrooke, Que., Sheffield Shop, xii, 253 pp., $3). MONTGOMERY (G. H. A.), Mississquoi Bay (Philipsburg, Que.) (Granby, Que., Granby Printing and Publishing Co., 132 pp., ill., $2.50). MUNDAY (DON), The unknown mountain (London and Toronto, Hodder and Stoughton, 1948, xx, 268 pp., $5). NOVA SCOTIA SAVINGS, LOAN & BUILDING SOCIETY, A century of service to the public; historical sketch by C. BRUCE FERGUSSON (Halifax, the Society, 42 pp.). OKANAGAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY, Fourteenth report, 1950; ed. by MARGARET A. ORMSBY (Vernon, B.C., the Society, c/o Major H. R. Denison, 171 pp., $2.50). *PARKER (JOHN), Newfoundland: 10th province of Canada (London, Lincolns-Prager, 157 pp., 10*s.* 6*d.*) POWELL (R. J.), Annals of the forty, 1784-1818 (Grimsby Historical Society, no. 1; Grimsby the Society, c/o Mrs. J. M. Powell, 131 Main St. W., 94 pp., $1). REDDICK (D. V.), Fishing is a cinch: with the inquiring angler in Ontario and Quebec (Toronto, McClelland & Stewart, 297 pp., $4). REXFORD (E. I.), GAMMELL (I.), and MCBAIN (A. R.), The history of the High School of Montreal (Montreal, Old Boys' Association of the High School of Montreal, xiv, 310 pp.). *SMITH (H. D.), The Desbarats country; ill. by *DOMENICO MORTELLITO (Chicago, the author, iv, 45 pp.). STANLEY (G. F. G.) and PRESTON (R. A.), A short history of Kingston as a military and naval centre (Kingston, Royal Military College, 40 pp.). *SUTTON (HORACE), Footloose in Canada; with photographs mostly by the author (New York, Toronto, Rinehart; Toronto, Clarke Irwin, xii, 291 pp., $5). TRADES AND LABOR CONGRESS OF CANADA, An historical review, the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, 1873-1949 (Ottawa, the Congress, Dept. of Public Relations and Research, 172 McLaren St., 20 pp.). *VINAL (THEODORA), Niagara portage from past to present (Buffalo, Foster & Stewart, 1949, vi, 157 pp., $2.25). WADDINGTON (ALFRED), The Fraser mines vindicated, or, The history of four months; reprinted for the first time as published in 1858 with an introduction by W. KAYE LAMB (Vancouver, Robert R. Reid, 2425 W. 10th Ave., 1949, xvi, 93 pp., $10).

7. *Other Books* THE EDITOR

Under this non-committal heading there remain to be considered a few books on two topics only, travel and education. The books on travel to be mentioned here, excluding those with a Canadian setting which belong in the previous sub-section, are *The Roving I* by Eric Nicol, *Israel Diary* by Bernard M. Bloomfield, and *The Fortunate Traveller* by R. S. Lambert. The first two are of recent experiences, Mr. Nicol's during a year in Paris and on a tour of France, Italy, and England; Mr. Bloomfield's during seven weeks in Israel. *The Roving I* is a humorous, farcical, wise-cracking book that often reads like a popular comedian's radio script. You expect to hear the cackling of the studio audience after every second sentence. This sort of thing soon becomes tiring; the pace of a radio show will not do for a book. Yet Mr. Nicol is both funny and observant as many pages of his travelogue would illustrate. Mr. Bloomfield, on the contrary,

is, for the most part, soberly informative: he gives a day-by-day account of his visit, where he went, what he noticed, whom he met, and adds comments on the economic condition and prospects of Israel. He feels the curiosity of the tourist and the piety of the pilgrim returning to the ancient homeland of his race.

Mr. Lambert, in *The Fortunate Traveller,* writes of other people's sightseeing: from the ancient tourists who were shown over the site of Troy or stared at the Seven Wonders of the World to their counterparts who will be visiting Britain and France this summer. In between there is a wealth of curious and entertaining information about tourism in the last two thousand years, including two chapters on "The Napoleon of Excursions," Thomas Cook. The one considerable omission which I recognize from these annals of travel is of that pedestrian gadabout, John ("Walking") Stewart (1749-1822), whose journeys in Asia, Europe, and America surely put him in a class by himself.

Finally, a few books related to education may be mentioned briefly. *Adult Education in Canada,* edited by J. R. Kidd and made up of contributions from over forty persons, is mainly an historical and descriptive account of an educational movement which is becoming increasingly important and necessary. *Structure and Aims of Canadian Education* by J. G. Althouse consists of two lectures delivered in 1949 in the University of Saskatchewan. I was particularly struck by his enthusiastic reference to the sixty rural high schools in Ontario "whose whole course centres around practical agriculture. Their chief strength is that each of them must work out its own course adapted to the area which it serves. A course suitable for the tobacco-growers of south-western Ontario will not meet the needs of the fruit-growers, who are their next neighbours, or of the dairymen and mixed farmers of the south, or of those who raise hay, oats, and potatoes in the north." Dr. Althouse is Chief Director of Education for Ontario. *Humanism in Action* by Claude W. Thompson, Professor in the Humanities in Sir George Williams College, is a curious volume including inspirational discourses on education, marriage, religion, etc., quotations from favourite writers, for example, Elbert Hubbard, and a quiz game with answers at the back. This humanism has much in common with "ethical culture," and no connection whatever with the humanism of either Erasmus or of Irving Babbitt. The most thought-provoking book in this small group, *The Nature and Technique of Understanding: Some Funda-*

mentals of Semantics by Hugh Woodworth, is concerned with education in the most general sense: kinds and degrees of awareness and understanding, the effects of our dependence upon words for communication, levels of meaning within a statement, and related observations. Although Mr. Woodworth does not come right up to the problem of understanding imaginative literature, his interests and his direction of approach will often remind the reader of I. A. Richards on that subject. But he is finally interested neither in psychology nor in literature for themselves, but in man and society. The beginning of the last paragraph—"The day will come, or at least could come, that will see man and his civilization utterly transformed; his problems, personal and political, solved with power and dispatch as they arise"—reminds one of Shelley, who likewise believed in man's perfectibility and the possibility of a transformed society to be brought about partly by a sharpened critical intelligence but mostly by that enlargement of our understanding which he sometimes designated "imagination" and sometimes "love."

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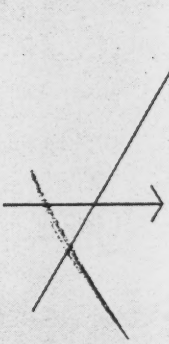

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